



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Friday
25 June 1993

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OAU Foreign Ministers Continue Conference

Libya's al-Muntasir Addresses Ministers

LD2406101193 Tripoli JANA in English 0848 GMT
24 Jun 93

[Text] Cairo/ al-Sayf [June] 24/ JAMAHARIYA NEWS AGENCY—Umar al-Muntasir, the Libyan secretary of the General People's Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Co-operation described the efforts exerted by the Great Jamahariya towards settling the crisis with western states, which is of a judicial nature. In his speech to a meeting of foreign ministers of the Organisation of African Unity in Cairo he said that the Great Jamahariya exerted immense efforts towards this end. But the concerned western states have insisted on politicising the case, even though it was of a judicial nature.

He revealed that Libya was keen to co-operate in the implementation of the items of Resolution 731, which did not in any way point to the surrender of the two suspects.

Libya made several initiatives and proposals which have been supported by numerous international organisations but the three concerned western states rejected them. He referred to the intransigence of western states, especially America and Britain and their suggestion to impose further sanctions on the Arab-Libyan people and said that this requires all African countries to adopt a strong [word indistinct] and to settle this crisis through peaceful means within its proper judicial context and through respect for the sovereignty of the Great Jamahariya as well as international laws and charters.

The secretary of the General People's Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Co-operation said that the escalation of this crisis would have far-reaching devastating [word indistinct] not only on regional states and on the whole the Great Jamahariya [as received] but on the [words indistinct].

Effects of Sanctions on Libya Cited

NC2406121993 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0921 GMT
24 Jun 93

[Text] Cairo, 24 Jun (MENA)—The Libyan delegation attending the meetings of the African Ministerial Council presented this morning's session with a report on the consequences of the implementation of Security Council Resolution 748, which imposed sanctions against Libya.

The report said the damage the sanctions inflicted on the Libyan economy amounted to \$2.4 billion and that losses in agricultural production amounted to 40 percent of the figure, because Libya cannot export its agricultural production. The report added that the sanctions have also affected livestock resources in Libya, because veterinary supplies, which were imported from Europe, have stopped.

The Libyan report on the losses resulting from the economic sanctions also said the Libyan aviation sector lost over \$361 million.

Referring to other technical problems resulting from these sanctions, the report noted the lack of maintenance work and the depletion of stocks of spare parts. It also said industry, production rates, and industrial projects were harmed and contacts with international companies were impeded.

Committee Expresses Concern Over Somalia

NC2406141693 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0833 GMT
24 Jun 93

[Text] Cairo, 24 Jun (MENA)—The Horn of Africa States Standing Committee on Somalia deeply regrets the killing of members of the UN peacekeeping force in Somalia and the killing of many women and children.

In a statement issued today during the African Ministerial Council session, the committee called for continuing the international community's efforts to restore peace and security to Somalia to ensure the distribution of relief aid and pave the way for restoring life to the country's civilian community.

The committee stressed that restoring peace and security to Somalia can only be achieved by fully implementing the disarmament provisions in the Addis Ababa accord signed in March by all the Somali rival factions. The committee expressed deep concern over the deteriorating conditions in Somalia and emphasized the need for caution in dealing with these conditions so that the operation to restore peace and security in the country will not be derailed.

The committee warned against the Somali people misunderstanding the United Nation's role in Somalia, when this role represents what remained of hope to achieve national reconciliation in the country.

The committee said this role should not find the United Nations becoming the target of aggression and attacks by any of the warring factions. The committee reasserted the need to strictly implement all the agreements signed by the rival Somali factions and called for the full implementation of all Security Council resolutions on Somalia to achieve peace and security there.

Congress Discusses States' Ties With S. Africa

NC2406142093 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0904 GMT
24 Jun 93

[Text] Cairo, 24 Jun (MENA)—At the morning session of the African Foreign Ministers Council today, the official in charge of foreign affairs at the African National Congress said African countries may establish diplomatic ties and open embassies in South Africa following the election there on 27 April. He stressed that South Africa must not be allowed to open embassies in African countries, but may do so when national forces participate in the government to be formed after the election.

Commenting on the new position adopted by the African National Congress, an official source at the African ministerial conference said this position is a new sign that the negotiations between the African forces and the South African Government are moving on the right path and that the forces' struggle is yielding fruit.

Committee Discusses Refugees, Drugs

NC2406144793 Cairo Arab Republic of Egypt Radio Network in Arabic 1000 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Ambassador Nihad 'Abd-al-Latif, head of the subcommittee of the OAU foreign ministers conference, has said the committee discussed the issue of 6,000

African refugees and compiled a draft resolution to deal with the issue and extend aid to them.

The committee also discussed the problem of drugs and cooperation among countries in this respect. The Ivory Coast submitted a draft resolution on interstate cooperation on this issue and Egypt briefed the committee on its antinarcotics activity and the training of 250 African cadres to combat drugs.

The committee also discussed humanitarian aid to African countries and Burkina Faso's initiative to organize such aid.

Burundi

Military Denies Coup Attempt Report

EA2406221393 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in English 1745 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Following an article which appeared in the third edition of the young weekly LA SEMAINE saying that there has been an attempt to overthrow President-elect Melchior Ndadaye, military authorities said today the article has no validity whatsoever.

The would-be chief leader of the putsch is a certain (Bizuru), a lieutenant of one of the capital's battalions. His commander said the lieutenant never displayed any sign in this sense and no contacts were made among other soldiers for any such aim. The commander also said that contrary to what LA SEMAINE wrote, Lieutenant (Bizuru) never was arrested and put in jail. He goes on doing his job as usual.

The article left them thunderstruck, he said. In his turn, the Defense Ministry's counselor in charge of information recalled that the Army had expressed its full support to the democratic process and it does not intend to change.

President Explains Meaning of Election Results

EA2306212393 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in French 1800 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Excerpt] Since the 1 June elections, various interpretations have been aired on the meaning of the result of the presidential elections. Some talked about objective factors, while others talked about subjective factors that were predominant. Today President Pierre Buyoya gave his interpretation. He believes subjective factors prevailed due to the history of Burundi. Mr. Buyoya believes that the policy of national unity did not fail. On the contrary, it is that very policy that explains the current situation. Here is what President Buyoya said:

[Begin Buyoya recording] First of all, the fact that there are various interpretations of the meaning of the elections is a clear sign that we are experiencing democracy in Burundi. I am going to express my views on the meaning of the results. I believe that the meaning is very simple. In an election, in Burundi or elsewhere, there are several factors influencing the vote. On one side there are objective factors. These include the candidate's personality, his political program, the manifesto, etc. There are also subjective factors that can influence the vote. They are related to history and sociopolitical realities.

In the current case of Burundi, I think that subjective factors influenced the vote in a decisive way. This is accepted by everybody, by those who won and those who lost. We took part in the elections but did not win. That can be explained by the fact that the history of Burundi, past events over the last 30 years, and the country's sociopolitical realities resulted in the majority of votes of

the population going to one candidate rather than the other. For me, this is the meaning.

Now what is important is what has to be done since that has been understood. We have already shown what must be done. One has to accept the popular vote. That is to say, Burundians today are like this: If they are called to an election in such circumstances, they vote mainly on subjective factors. That has to be accepted, and from there democracy has to be improved in such a way that in the future candidates are selected according to objective factors only. That is how I understand the meaning of the election. I think that is an evaluation shared by many others.

Does that mean that the policy of unity and reconciliation has failed? I say no. I will go further. The fact that our country, Burundi, made such a step on the path to democracy under our circumstances, within the conditions that are seen everywhere in Africa, I think that this was due to the policy of unity and reconciliation. If it were not for the policy, I think that we would not have arrived at where we are today. For me, it is the victory of the policy. It is the policy that brought us to where we are today.

We have just taken a step; we have just started. Democracy must be installed in Burundi; it must develop and last. For that to happen, the policy of unity and reconciliation must be pursued in one way or another. If things do not happen that way, there will be no viable democracy in Burundi. I have often said this in the past, I am repeating it today, and I will continue to say so. In fact, I note with satisfaction that the new president-elect made a declaration to that effect. I sincerely encourage him to persevere with that path. This is the only way to serve democracy in Burundi. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Central African Republic

Derant-Lakoue Threatens To Resign; Health Minister Leaves

AB2406211693 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 1230 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Nothing goes right any more between President Kolingba and Prime Minister Enoch Derant-Lakoue, the reason being that the head of government of the Central African Republic [CAR] objects to the appointment of Christophe Grelombe as minister of public security and territorial administration. Enoch Derant-Lakoue gives his reasons in a telephone conversation with Gibertrand Mapango:

[Begin recording] [Derant-Lakoue] My reasons are that the president of the Republic, against my advice, appointed Mr. Christophe Grelombe as minister of public security and territorial administration. Mr. Christophe Grelombe is not unknown to the Central African people and, for us, he is the symbol of repression and of

a number of misdeeds. I cannot agree that at this pre-election period a personality or character of that caliber be assigned once more to head that ministry. I told the president in a letter that he had to choose between keeping Mr. Grelombe and accepting my resignation as head of government, because retaining Mr. Grelombe's appointment is seen by me—just as it will be seen by the people—as an attempt to subvert the electoral process.

[Mapango] Don't you think, Mr. Prime Minister, that your decision could deal a damaging blow to the ongoing democratic process in your country?

[Derant-Lakoue] I do not want to be in any way associated with subverting the electoral process. Not at all. The situation today is relatively under control since, politically, we have already settled the election date. On the industrial front, negotiations are going on with the trade unions to get them to resume work. So the prospects are bright for a smooth march to the elections. [end recording]

That was CAR Prime Minister Enoch Derant-Lakoue answering questions from Gibertrand Mapango. Still in CAR, Mrs. Ruth Rolland, minister of health and a candidate in the 17 October presidential election, resigned yesterday.

Chad

Transitional Government Reports New Cabinet 24 Jun AB2406213093 Ndjamenia Radiodiffusion Nationale Tchadienne in French 1900 GMT 24 Jun 93

["Full list" of the second transitional Cabinet; issued in Ndjamenia on 24 June; read by Aba Likaya, press attache at the Presidency]

[Text] Here is the list of the members of the transitional government: Minister of:

Foreign Affairs:	Korom, Ahmed [new]
Interior and Security:	Djalbord, Ali [new]
Delegate for National Defense, War Veterans and Victims:	Laina, Loum Hinassou
Justice and Keeper of the Seals:	Koumakoye, Delwa Kassire
Agriculture and Environment:	Ahmat, Mahamat Saleh
Planning and Cooperation:	Saleh, Ibn Oumar Mahamat
Public Works and Transport:	Kebzabo, Saleh
Civil Service and Labor:	Kamougue, Wadal Abdelkader
Livestock and Animal Resources:	Kittir, Hassan Fadoul
Communication, Posts, and Telecommunications, in charge of Relations with the Higher Transitional Council and Spokesman of the Government:	Alabo, Ahmat
Mines, Energy, and Water Resources:	Neatoube, Valentin Bidi

Commerce and Industry:	Izzo, (Miskine) Abderamane
National Education, Culture, and Reforms:	Nghote, Gali
Social and Women's Affairs:	Malliu, Bintou
Finance and Computer Science:	Roygam, Robert
Public Health:	Nouri, Mahamat
Secretary General of Government:	Ngarmbatina, Carmele (Soukat)
Deputy Secretary General of Government:	Regui, Mamadou

Congo

Prime Minister Yhombi-Opango Presents New Cabinet

AB2506100293 Brazzaville Radio Nationale Congolaise Network in French 0700 GMT 25 Jun 93

[List of the new Congolese Cabinet issued in Brazzaville on 24 June; read by Prime Minister Jacques Joachim Yhombi-Opango]

[Text] Here is the list of the members of government:

Prime Minister, head of government, and chairman of the Priorities Committee	YHOMBI-OPANGO, Jacques Joachim
Minister of State:	
Chairman of the Development Committee	DACOSTA, Claude Antoine
Chairman of Sociocultural Development	BONGO-NOUARRA, Maurice Stephane
Interior in charge of Security, Regional Development, and Relations With Parliament	MBERI, Martin
Chairman of National Defense Committee	NGOLLO, Raymond Damase
Chairman of Legislation, Judicial Affairs, and Administrative Reform	MATSIKA, Aimee
Minister of:	
Foreign Affairs and Cooperation in Charge of Francophone Affairs	BOUNKOULOU, Benjamin
Economy and Finance	NKOMBO, N'Guila MOUNGOUNGA
Plan	MOUAMBA, Clement
Communication, Posts and Telecommunications, and Government Spokesman	MASSALA, Lipou Albertine
Industrial Development, Mines, and Energy	ITADI, Jean
Equipment and Public Works	GALIBALY, Lambert
Agriculture and Animal Husbandry	LEF-JUOBA, Gregoire
Civil Service and Administrative Reform	KOYO, Jean Prosper
Transport and Civil Aviation	MOUAMBA, Niaty Maurice

Commerce, Consumer Affairs, and Small and Medium-Scale Enterprises	MOUAMBENGA, Marius
Health and Social Welfare	EKOUNDZOLA, Jean Roger
Labor, Social Security, and Soli- darity	TSOMAMBET, Anacle
Hydraulic Resources	KOUKEBENE, Benoit
Tourism and Environment	TCHITCHELE, Francois
Culture in Charge of National Patrimony	DIBINDOU, Dandou Abel
Water, Forestry, and Fisheries	NGOUOLALI, Rigobert
National Education	TANGUI, Noutete Nasone
Democratic Culture and Human Rights	MATSIOLA, Gabriel

Thystere-Tchicaya To Head Opposition Government

AB2406105693 Paris AFP in English 2010 GMT
23 Jun 93

[By Patrick Van Roekeghem]

[Excerpts] Brazzaville, June 23 (AFP)—Congo's opposition coalition stepped up its battle Wednesday [23 June] to wrest power from President Pascal Lissouba's forces, announcing plans for a rival government. Opposition sources said Jean-Pierre Thystere-Tchicaya had been asked to head the opposition government of national salvation.

The opposition announcement coincided with a Congolese television report that Lissouba had named General Joachim Yhombi-Opango as prime minister with a task of restoring peace and security. [passage omitted]

In a communique, the opposition coalition of the Union for Democratic Renewal and the Congolese Labour Party said it would set up its own national assembly as well as a government of national salvation. It said the assembly would be chaired by Andre Mouelle, who was speaker of the previous, opposition-dominated national assembly which was dissolved by Lissouba in November 1992.

On Tuesday, the opposition boycotted the inaugural session of the government-controlled assembly which elected former prime minister Andre Milongo as speaker. The interior ministry had credited the presidential faction with an absolute majority in the vote. The opposition vowed Wednesday to "use all means to defend democracy under threat." [passage omitted]

Rwanda

Government-RPF Peace Agreement 'Postponed Indefinitely'

AB2506073593 Paris AFP in English 0108 GMT
25 Jun 93

[Text] Arusha, Tanzania, June 24 (AFP)—A Rwandan Government-rebel peace pact has been postponed indefinitely after President Juvenal Habyarimana rejected parts of the accord at the last minute.

Informed sources at the talks between the Kigali government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) rebels said Habyarimana had rejected a 50-50 distribution of command posts in a proposed 13,000-man army to be formed in the war-torn central African nation during the transition to democracy.

The sources said Habyarimana's rejection had led the RPF to demand that the original provision for a 60-40 government-rebel share in the army's makeup be changed to 60-40 in the rebels' favor.

The last-minute stalemate came as a surprise, as the two sides had been expected to seal the pact, hammered out in 11 months of haggling, which would put an end to a two-year civil war.

The successful conclusion was to have been reported to next week's Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit in Cairo.

"Although they could not sign the agreement now as we expected, we are still hopeful of them doing so, maybe after the OAU summit in Cairo," said Senegalese ambassador Papa Louis Fall, who is representing current OAU chairman, Senegalese President Abdou Diouf.

The peace accords included an agreement to bring the minority Tutsi rebels into a government currently dominated by Rwanda's Hutu majority. They also included agreements on repatriation of refugees and resettlement of displaced people as well as the formation of a joint army.

The transition was to be supervised by a neutral international force under the auspices of the United Nations—replacing the OAU military observer group that has overseen a cease-fire since last August.

Ministers Comment on Deadlock

EA2406221793 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Negotiations are deadlocked in Arusha. Foreign Minister Ngulinzira blames the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] for this failure, but also says that the mood in Kigali surrounding the negotiations has got something to do with this. Balthazar Nduwayezu reports:

[Nduwayezu] The negotiations are deadlocked and we are awaiting, any time now, the facilitator's official position—that is to say, that of President Ali Hassan Mwinyi himself. The hopes raised by the imminent signing of the peace accord have thus collapsed and have now been replaced by doubts and worry.

The Tanzanian minister [of state] for defense, Abdulrahman Kinana, as representative of the facilitator, along with Tanzanian Foreign Minister Rwegasira, who has just returned from Cairo, tried yesterday afternoon, the major part of the night, and this morning to bring the two delegations together by suggesting various scenarios on the sharing of the Army command. The compromise

proposal was to share the 18 posts of battalion commanders, with 45 per cent for the RPF—eight posts—and 55 per cent for the government—10 posts. It is worth noting that out of these 18 battalions, 12 are within brigades and six are under the direct control of the chief of staff headquarters. [passage omitted]

Minister Kinana and Minister Rwegasira, who returned from Cairo because of the signing of the peace accord, left today for Dar es Salaam to make a report to President Ali Hassan Mwinyi on the present deadlock.

According to Minister Ngulinzira, the reasons for the deadlock do not really lie in the content of the negotiations, but in the political mood around the signing of the peace accord. According to Ngulinzira, President Mwinyi's approach was to bring to Arusha the president of Rwanda and the RPF chairman who together could have solved certain points which were shelved during the signing of the peace accord. The approach did not reportedly meet the approval of the Rwandan president who said he would not come to Arusha until all the details were settled and until the head of the government delegation returned to Kigali to explain the peace accord. But the RPF refuses to resolve these details, and in so doing plays into the hands of the president, Minister Ngulinzira indicated.

Another reason for the deadlock was the division within the Rwandan political community that the RPF tried to take advantage of, notably the division surrounding the candidacy for the post of prime minister of the broad-transitional government. [passage omitted]

Interim Prime Minister Rejects 'Enlarged Government'

*AB2406132093 Paris AFP in English 1215 GMT
24 Jun 93*

[Text] Kigali, June 24 (AFP)—Rwanda's Interim Prime Minister Dismas Nsengiyaremye complained Thursday [24 June] that the Cabinet's rejection of him as head of a new enlarged government was meant to sabotage the peace agreement reached with the rebel Patriotic Front. The agreement, reached at the weekend, was to have been signed Thursday in Arusha, the Tanzanian town where peace talks dragged on for almost a year. But on Wednesday [23 June] the government postponed the signing indefinitely. A spokesman said President Juvenal Habyarimana and other political chiefs had to be briefed first before the agreement could be signed.

The previous day [22 June], the Cabinet chaired by Habyarimana rejected the candidacy of Nsengiyaremye to be prime minister of a new government which under

the peace arrangements would include ministers drawn from the rebel movement. Nsengiyaremye criticised the way the Cabinet was convened while some ministers were absent on missions abroad.

The peace agreement, ending a civil war which began in late 1990 when exiles of the minority Tutsi tribe made an incursion from Uganda, provides for the incoming premier to come from the ranks of the main opposition party the Democratic Republican Movement, to which Nsengiyaremye belongs.

Zaire

National Liberation Front Chief Gives News Conference

*AB2306153593 Paris AFP in French 2022 GMT
22 Jun 93*

[Text] Kinshasa, 22 Jun (AFP)—General Nathanael Mbumb, the chairman of Congo National Liberation Front (FLNC) who had launched the two Shaba wars (1978-1979), has said at a news conference in Kinshasa that "the time has come to mobilize the people for a more important task that would prepare them to take care of themselves and be answerable before history and the world on the future of the country."

Gen. Mbumb, who believes he has vast political and military experience, said he made this call when confronted with "the Zairian opposition incapacity" to put an end to a dictatorship that has plundered the country and the people for 27 years.

He fustigated Mr. Etienne Tshisekedi who according to him, declined the offer made by the FLNC to put its troops at the disposal of the transition government issued from the Sovereign National Conference. The proposal was made to "guarantee the legitimate (Tshisekedi) government's efficiency."

On the other hand, Mr. Mbumb said that no election was possible if the Army, the police, and the security forces, which are supporting Mobutu, were not reorganized. "Unless the specialized services were reorganized, no government, legitimate or otherwise, would be able to run the country in peace," the FLNC chairman added.

While pleading for the recognition of the High Council of the Republic as the sole legitimate transition parliament, Gen. Mbumb condemned the existence of two governments in Zaire before saying that his party, which was part of the Zairian opposition, recognizes the Birindwa government.

Kenya

Ambassador Signs African Economic Community Treaty

EA2406212693 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Kenya's ambassador to Ethiopia and Djibouti, Mr. Jackson Tumwa, on Tuesday [22 June] signed the ratification of the treaty establishing the African Economic Community. The ceremony was witnessed by the OAU secretary general, Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim.

Ambassador Tumwa said the African Economic Community will go a long way in harnessing Africa's boundless economic resources. Mr. Tumwa appealed to all OAU member states to ratify the treaty. In response, the OAU secretary general, Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, thanked Kenya for signing the ratification of the treaty. The treaty has also been signed by President Daniel arap Moi and the minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation, Mr. Kalonzo Musyoka.

Somalia

Ali Mahdi Radio Notes UNOSOM-II Air Raids

EA2406192493 Mogadishu Voice of the Somali Republic in Somali 1100 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Major David Stockwell, a spokesman for the UN Operation in Somalia [UNOSOM-II], has said that U.S. and Pakistani planes yesterday raided and completely destroyed arms caches at (Arbisa), south of Afgooye District. The spokesman added that the air assault was planned taking into consideration the safety of the locals.

The spokesman said the site was the fifth to be raided by UNOSOM-II planes. On 12 June, four sites used by General Aidid to store weapons were destroyed. The spokesman pointed out that if this latest weapons destruction had not been carried out, it would have resulted in problems.

UN helicopters were once again today flying over Mogadishu, dropping thousands of leaflets saying that anyone disclosing the whereabouts of or capturing Gen. Mohamed Farah Aidid would receive a cash reward from UNOSOM of an undisclosed amount. The UN is accusing the general for being behind the recent disturbances in Mogadishu in which 23 Pakistani soldiers and many Somalis were killed.

USC's Farah Discusses Relations With Aidid, Ali Mahdi

PM2406093093 London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 20 Jun 93 p 6

[Interview with Abdi Osman Farah, deputy chairman of the United Somali Congress, by 'Ali Musa in Mogadishu; date not given]

[Text] [Musa] You were General Aidid's strongest ally in Mogadishu and one of his closest friends. Why did this alliance break up and why did you abandon Aidid?

[Farah] I was close to Aidid for a long time. We participated together in overthrowing the dictator Mohamed Siad Barre (former Somali president). We had planned to lay foundations for a broader popular participation in governing the country so as to include all sectors of Somali society. But I noticed that Aidid used to abandon these plans quickly. Then he began to prepare himself to become an alternative dictator to Siad Barre. I advised him to abandon that approach, but he was yearning for power, so I decided to keep away from him.

[Musa] When did you last meet with him?

[Farah] I have not met with Aidid for eight months. Intermediaries tried to arrange meetings for us recently, but these attempts failed because of the general's insistence on continuing the policy of monopolizing decision-making.

[Musa] Does your abandonment of Aidid mean rapprochement with interim President Ali Ma'idi Mohamed?

[Farah] My abandonment of Aidid does not mean that I have become an ally of Ali Mahdi. Nor do I believe that that is possible as long as Mahdi continue to claim that he is the president of Somalia. I do not support anyone whose relies on tribalism and uses arms to govern.

[Musa] If Aidid is arrested, do you believe that that would adversely affect national reconciliation and the formation of the "transitional national assembly" in the country?

[Farah] Aidid does not enjoy the support of the majority of the people. His supporters constitute a small group of militias. And I do not believe that his departure or arrest would obstruct reconciliation efforts or the formation of the "national assembly." In fact it could help speed up these efforts. No tribal leader who implicated himself in creating militias enjoys widespread support from the people in Somalia.

Among the many problems facing us is that most of the missions, delegations, individuals, and representatives of governments and organizations who visited and visit Somalia do not know the details of the crisis in this country. Nor do they consult the right people in Somalia to help them to understand the nature of our problem and hence help them to take the right decisions to help us.

[Musa] And what is your position on the military operations which targeted Aidid's headquarters and positions in Mogadishu?

[Farah] I am against shelling civilians and destroying civilian installations in Mogadishu. I am also opposed to any attempt to harm and kill the Somali people. This is why I abandoned Aidid.

I believe that killing innocent civilians is a crime, no matter who commits it, American or Somali. And although my relations with Aidid are not good, it does not mean that I support whatever measures his opponents take.

[Musa] Is there some contradiction in your position inside the United Somali Congress [USC], because you belong to the Hawadlah [as transliterated] branch of the al-Hawiyah [as transliterated] tribe, while Aidid belongs to the Habarjadar [as transliterated] branch of the same tribe?

[Farah] Aidid did not make a decision to appoint me his deputy. I was elected to the post of USC deputy chairman by USC members and supporters. And I am still exercising my powers despite my differences with Aidid, which do not affect al-Hawadlah or the Habarjadar or my relations with the two branches.

There is no contradiction between al-Hawadlah and Habarjadar, because they both belong to the central region of Somalia. They have common interests and are currently working on joint development projects. The struggle among politicians does not affect their members.

Uganda

Museveni Discusses Return of Bugandan King

EA2406213193 Kampala Radio Uganda Network in English 1400 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] President Yoweri Museveni has strongly defended his government's decision to restore traditional leaders in the country and lashed at those who are accusing him of resurrecting Buganda's arrogance which had been crushed by Obote.

In one of his most powerful speeches on record, President Museveni told the National Resistance Council that to any serious person the 1966 events did not solve the Buganda problem. In fact, he declared, the 1966 events compounded the problem. I am now calling on the public, he added, to ignore the voices of the ghosts. He said the issue is going to be discussed rationally. He stressed the importance of respecting the rights of every Ugandan and group. He said the National Resistance Movement [NRM] and (?Fronasa) have always defended the rights of the injured, the aggrieved, the insulted and the weak. We the nationalists, we the pan-Africans respect our traditions. But he added we also say they must be modernized to ensure survival in the world of giants. He said nationalists, pan-Africans want to create great unity among African states and reject parochialism and opportunism.

At this juncture, he announced that he is going to bring a bill to facilitate the coronation of the ssabataka [king] of Buganda and traditional leaders in areas where they want them. He stressed that this is purely for cultural roles. He said he does not see any danger to the country for this unless opportunists want to misuse the institution. He warned that if this happens, the NRM will oppose them as it has opposed a galaxy of others in the past.

On the return of the Indian properties and the privatization of parastatal bodies, President Museveni registered his opposition to those who are opposed to the policy. On the return of the Indian properties, Mr. Museveni declared, let us return Indian property and close this ignominious chapter. He said the move will push the country's GDP by 9 to 10 percent. He further announced that the battle against corruption is being intensified.

Right-Wingers Smash 'Armored Vehicle' Through WTC Entrance

MB2506085893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0830 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Johannesburg June 25 SAPA—The armoured vehicle used by the right wing demonstrators to smash through the entrance of the World Trade Centre (WTC) on Friday morning was similar to the type used by private security companies, security force members told SAPA.

The sand coloured vehicle, displaying a sticker proclaiming the word "viper", smashed through the huge glass entrance to the WTC about 9.30am, SAPA reporters on the scene said.

At that time, members of the security forces had been stationed in front of the entrance—but scattered when it became clear the vehicle was not going to stop, reporters and witnesses aid.

As security force members scattered, the armoured vehicle, smaller in size than the type used by the SAP [South African Police] and SA Defence Force, halted briefly centimetres from the doors. A black-uniformed demonstrator leaped onto the bonnet, hauled out a handgun and fired a single shot into the glass frontage.

The glass "spiderwebbed", but did not collapse. The uniformed man then jumped off as the vehicle drove on through the WTC frontage.

At that point, demonstrators and security force members on the sides of the vehicle scattered as shards of glass collapsed from the five metre high entrance.

The vehicle edged forward slowly into the foyer of the WTC as dozens of protesters followed through.

The armoured vehicle, once through, was quickly covered with flag waving demonstrators on the roof. It eventually halted at the foot of the escalator leading to the Negotiating Council chamber on the top floor of the two storey WTC.

The vehicle later withdraw. But shortly before 10.30am, it was parked about 20 metres from the WTC entrance.

About that time, a fire engine arrived on the scene, edging towards the smashed frontage. It had to run a gauntlet of jeering right wingers.

Demonstrators Occupy Council Chamber

MB2506081993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0755 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg June 25 SAPA—"It is a very sad day," said government negotiator and minister of local government Dr Tertius Delpont as he stood among a group of heavily-armed security force members.

A SAPA correspondent has confirmed that scores of demonstrators have occupied the Negotiating Council on the first floor.

Negotiators have left the chamber and the police are powerless to contain the protest.

Demonstrators also spray-painted slogans such as "NP" [National Party] with the P in the form of the hammer and sickle insignia.

The council at 9.46am was still occupied by the demonstrators who were joined by the Conservative Party senior negotiator Mr Tom Langley.

The protesters had taken the seats usually occupied by the negotiators and the media.

"We will negotiate on their behalf," a uniformed AWB [Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging; Afrikaner Resistance Movement] member told SAPA.

The leaders of the protest, including Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and AWB leader Mr Eugene Terreblanche arrived to applause at 9.48am in the council chambers.

They are expected to address their supporters in the council chamber.

They said earlier they had appointed their own negotiating committee consisting of among other Dr Hartzenberg, General Constand Viljoen, Mr Terreblanche and Mr Cor de Jager.

A policeman said Mr Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer were in a "safe place at the centre and are inaccessible".

However, a senior official at the venue confirmed that several World Trade Centre security guards had been beaten up. They had received treatment for their injuries.

A news cameraman was also threatened not to film events in the Negotiating Council chamber "unless the leaders of the AVF [Afrikaner National Front] demonstration" addressed the gathering.

Outside the chamber, heavily-armed security force members and AWB members were still congregated.

Most of the protesters were at 9.52am stationed outside the entrance to the World Trade Centre, while dozens were still milling around the foyer and the corridors leading to the chamber.

At the bottom of the escalator leading to the first floor, some demonstrators were writing out their own delegate name-tags and were attaching them to their uniforms.

While this was going on, supporters chanted and enthusiastically sang "Die Stem" [The Voice—South African national anthem].

The armoured vehicle, which rammed through the front plateglass entrance earlier on Friday, was later reversed out of the foyer and parked just before the entrance.

Meanwhile, AWB leader Mr Terreblanche challenged members of the Negotiating Council to enter the chamber and answer questions.

At 10am, the situation appeared to have calmed down, although there were still hundreds of protesters outside.

Negotiations Succeed; Protestors Leave

MB2506095793 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0931 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By Sipke de Vries and David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg June 25 SAPA—More than 400 rightwingers began leaving the Negotiating Council chamber at the World Trade Centre shortly after 11am on Friday after successful negotiations between their leaders and democracy negotiators over a siege of the venue.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] leader Eugene Terreblanche ordered his followers out of the chamber, saying he had been given the assurance none would be arrested as long as they behaved in an orderly manner.

The instruction came after Afrikaner Volksfront [Afrikaner National Front] leader General Constand Viljoen, Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and others met negotiations and security officials to discuss the violent siege of the building earlier in the day.

Mr Terreblanche told his supporters to leave the chamber and regroup outside the building where small delegations would be allowed inside to present protest memorandums, demanding "self-determination for the Afrikaner people".

Meanwhile, African National Congress Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa and other multiparty negotiators were "safe" in the World Trade Centre, after the rightwingers had earlier launched the most violent protest yet seen at the democracy negotiations centre.

"They are safe, but for obvious reasons I can't tell you exactly where they are," a government source told SAPA at 11.45am.

"I saw them three minutes ago," Democratic Party National Chairman Colin Eglin, also a delegate at the talks, said a few minutes earlier.

Mr Ramaphosa and the other negotiators were whisked away from the Negotiating Council chamber after more than 1,000 angry demonstrators poured into the centre when an armoured security vehicle ploughed its way through the plate glass entrance.

The first inkling of what might occur took place shortly after 9am when security force members scattered as the

armoured vehicle drove through the boom gates at the conference centre, halted briefly several centimetres from the venue's doors and then rammed through the glass frontage.

Shards of glass were strewn about as the armoured vehicle rammed through the five metre high entrance.

The vehicle then edged forward slowly into the foyer of the WTC as dozens of protesters followed through.

The armoured vehicle, once through, was quickly covered with flag waving demonstrators on the roof. It eventually halted at the foot of the escalator leading to the Negotiating Council chamber on the top floor of the two storey WTC.

Hundreds of demonstrators then poured into the centre, occupying the Negotiating Council chambers.

Asked to comment on the chaotic situation at the World Trade Centre, the source said: "The government is saying nothing at this stage."

Senior government negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer is understood to be with Mr Ramaphosa, SA Communist Party Chairman Joe Slovo and other negotiators in the building.

Asked to comment on the demonstration on his arrival at the World Trade Centre on Friday morning at about 8.30am, Mr Ramaphosa said: "They are involved in a desperate attempt to hold on to what they had already lost, because what they were selfishly holding on to now belongs to all of us including them."

"It is a very sad day," government negotiator and Minister of Local Government Dr Tertius Delpoit told SAPA soon after the demonstrators had burst into the centre with the vehicle.

In a later address to the throng outside the World Trade Centre, the Terreblanche said what had happened at the conference venue on Friday morning was entirely "the fault of the government".

"We will not recognise peace under the reign of communism," he told more than 1,500 AVF supporters.

Mr Terreblanche was speaking via a public address system.

Earlier black Reuters newsmen Rich Mkhondo was assaulted by AWB members.

A BBC news team was also threatened by black-clad Aquila members.

Boer State Party: Time Right for Coup Against Government

MB2506075493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0001 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Johannesburg June 24 SAPA—The time was right for a rightwing coup against the government and the

defence force and police would be wise to support such an action, Boerestaat Party [Boer State Party—BSP] Leader Robert van Tonder said on Thursday [24 June].

"Opinion polls and by-elections have shown that the National Party has collapsed and that the government no longer has the support of the people who elected them.

"The situation is over-ripe for a coup to remove the De Klerk regime," Mr van Tonder said in a statement.

"The defence force and police would be wise to support the rightwing parties in order to topple the government to stabilise the country and so that the southern African sub-continent, as in western Europe, could be divided in a number of independent nation states co-operating economically," he added.

Mr van Tonder also called on the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie [Afrikaner National Union] to immediately withdraw from multiparty negotiations.

It was futile to negotiate with the other 24 parties when they refused to acknowledge the right of the Boer nation to have their own Volksstaat, [people's state] he said.

De Klerk Views Negotiations, Elections, Racism

MB2406201293 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1830 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Interview with South African State President F. W. de Klerk by South African Broadcasting Corporation political correspondent Lester Venter at the official residence, Tuynhuys, in Cape Town—live; italicized passages in Afrikaans]

[Text] [Venter] Good evening and welcome to Thursday's Agenda. Tonight we devote the program to an in-depth discussion here in Tuynhuys with President de Klerk, and we'll be touching on many of the problem issues confronting South Africans today.

Mr. de Klerk, good evening and thank you very much for joining us. Mr. President, the central issue seems to be the commitment to an election. Now we saw yesterday that Mr. Mandela and Chief Minister Buthelezi couldn't agree on the issue of holding that election. We know also that the white rightwing parties are opposed to holding an election. Now, in a situation where several meaningful parties are opposed to the very idea of holding the election, does that not undermine the worth of having one?

[De Klerk] I don't think the disagreement, apart from the CP, is so much about the necessity of the holding of an election. The disagreement or the divergence of opinion centers on what must happen before an election is held. And there are three schools of thought. The one school of thought says everything must be finalized before you can consider that; a one-phase approach, a final constitution, everything must be in place. And then there's another school of thought at the opposite end, which says we must hold an election and then the people who are

mandated must write a constitution. That is where the whole negotiation process started. I and the government took an initiative way back at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] One and said we must build a bridge between these two poles, and the bridge is, let's have a two-phase approach.

And there's been a tremendous convergence of opinion, although within the Cosag [Concerned South Africans Group] group I think there is still some resistance. But once we get principles in place—they are now being debated—and a transitional constitution in place, and also the first bill of rights in place, and once people can see from that that actually they won't be tricked out of strong regional government—in which we also believe, for instance—we will reach a situation I believe where there will also be much greater unanimity on the question of an election.

[Venter] Nevertheless parties like Inkatha, like the CP, show no signs at this stage of being open to that agreement that you're talking about.

[De Klerk] Well, maybe that is one of the reasons why those negotiating find consensus on the need to create a little bit more time for further bilateral discussions, for further multiparty discussions. I am supportive of the short extension which was given.

[Venter] But this issue has been in the machinations of negotiations for a considerable time. Do you have realistic hope that an agreement will be reached by a week's extension?

[De Klerk] I hope that we will be able in a week's time to reiterate a commitment to a target date. But I personally believe one will have to say in the same breath that that target date can only be attained if certain steps which must still follow, certain uncompleted tasks, are completed within a specified time or within a reasonable time. In other words, I believe we need to also set other target dates. You cannot have an election before there's a transitional constitution, and before that transitional constitution is accepted by Parliament.

[Venter] May I ask you: If that agreement doesn't come, what then?

[De Klerk] I'm confident that a form of agreement which will take us forward can and will be achieved. This is how the process has gone. This is the essence of negotiation, that you talk, you make progress, you have setbacks. Sometimes it's two steps forward, one step backward, but throughout this whole process the parties have succeeded in basically making progress. And I think we're near to a breakthrough.

[Venter] Would you go ahead with that breakthrough without the agreement of the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] and the CP?

[De Klerk] The basis of decision-making is sufficient consensus. One will have to judge. Basically I don't think there can be sufficient consensus if major role players

don't agree, and one will have to define what major role players are. I regard all the larger parties with a relatively wide and national support as important role players.

[Venter] But if you do that, won't it accelerate the image that the government and the ANC is bull-doing an agreement through if you can't take the...

[De Klerk, interrupting] The government and the ANC is not in cahoots, A. B., the government and the ANC should not—and the government will not be prepared to move forward with only the ANC. We are absolutely committed to multiparty agreement. However, the whole multiparty conference should not be held to ransom and we should not give a veto to one particular party for instance, to hold all the others up. Therefore, it's a question of balance, it's a question of analysis, it's a question of constantly finding yet another consensus which takes us forward. And if we lose a week or two, that's not the end of the world. The important thing is to really, in the final analysis, come up with agreement which can ensure peace, which can ensure stability, which will ensure a true democracy, which will have checks and balances under which people can feel secure.

[Venter] The way Mr. Buthelezi articulated it yesterday was that he was not satisfied that there was a strong enough commitment to federalism. Now those are one of the checks and balances that you, yourself, stand on. Are you personally convinced that the commitment to federalism is strong enough?

[De Klerk] I'm personally convinced that we made major progress on this issue and according to all the information, which I have, I think we need one or two or three blanks yet to be filled in and then we will be able to say yes, there will definitely be a system of strong regional government based on federal principles and we are working to fill those three blanks in.

[Venter] But are those blanks that you're talking about not that ... [pauses] The negotiating group has agreed that the constitution-making body that will follow the election will take up the issue of federalism and if so what security will supporters of the federal option have that it will actually do that?

[De Klerk] Those are the blanks that we must fill in. It depends on the exact final wording of the principles by which the constitution-writing body will be bound. It depends—that feeling of assuredness, that yes, it will actually also in the final constitution be properly secured, rests upon blanks which still have to be filled in in the constitutional court. So, the plan is there on the table and there's been a tremendous convergence of opinion. Parties like the ANC, and I don't say that in a negative sense, I think it's positive, have on these issues already made very important concessions, and I am confident that tying up the few remaining aspects is within our reach.

[Venter, interrupting] In one week?

[De Klerk] Yes, maybe within one week, at least to such an extent that one will be able to reconfirm commitment to the target date which has already been agreed upon and, in respect of which the resolution was already taken, and to tie to such a recommitment of that target date, what still needs to be done within which time frame.

[Venter] Sir, this would have been tomorrow, now it will take place next week Friday. The negotiators must reach agreement on an interim constitution, the setting of a date, the confirmation of the date for an election and also the creation of transitional mechanisms—the transitional council? Now, is this the stage when the country will effectively be placed under multiparty control?

[De Klerk] No, I noticed that certain conclusions were also reached in the foreign press. The transitional executive council with its sub councils, planned for the future, does not replace the government and does not become a super government above this government. That transitional executive council should be focussed on one main objective, and that is to ensure that an election will be properly conducted, that it will be free and that it will take place in an atmosphere making a free election possible. Further, that council will have the task of ensuring that the government does not abuse the power it will have, the power it will keep, to the detriment of any other party. It is thus directed at the so-called leveling of the playing field, the leveling of the playing field, and it does not become a super government. This government will only transfer its authority and its mandate and its responsibility to govern to an elected government in terms of the agreed upon transitional constitution.

[Venter] But President, to be realistic, even if the other parties accept this transitional council, a situation where they merely act as advisers, and this is indeed the worrying issue, that they are not prepared merely to act as an advisory council.

[De Klerk] They are not merely an advisory council. In terms of their high focus—the chief responsibility, the entire management, the entire planning of an election, the drawing up of elections legislation, will be done by them, and the government is part of this, and if a decision has to be taken in that interim council then it will be a decision to which the government has agreed because we also have a representative there; and for that reason decisions taken there will be carried out by the government. For this reason they are not merely advisory bodies. All that I am saying is that they are not going to become the government of the country in terms of normal government activities and government decision making. They will focus on the process leading up to a newly elected parliament and government.

[Venter] But effectively, the government will then have a partner in the administration of the country. Is that a wrong deduction?

[De Klerk] As head of government it would be my approach to use the council in this consultative capacity, especially in cases over which the government presides.

We are already consulting over important and far-reaching decisions, and when that council is in place and when it meets regularly, then it could become an important mechanism to also use issues falling outside its jurisdiction, as a means of interaction between us and other parties.

[Venter] Mr. President, since your process of reform and negotiations has been underway, indications are that your support—white support for the National Party—has fallen from something above 50 percent to around 25 percent. Effectively you've halved the support of your party, now that would seem to have really serious implications, particularly if other parties representing the white voice walk out of negotiations. Doesn't that endanger any settlement that you might reach?

[De Klerk] Well, first, I don't think that on one or two opinion polls at a time of great uncertainty one can make any medium-term deductions, even with regard to a pattern of support. There is great uncertainty out there, and yes, this is reflected—I think this particular opinion poll that you referred to was a fairly small sample, and there are others which indicate it is not as bad as all that. But yes, let's assume for the moment that momentarily there is a drop in support. That support did not shift to other parties, first. What has grown was those who say, I don't know how I will vote.

When we produce agreement, and when people will see that we are actually delivering on our referendum undertakings when we stated what our minimum requirements are, that pattern, I'm confident, will change again.

Second, I think there is general realization that this is a temporary situation. I don't, and we don't, as a party or as a government, feel ourselves incapacitated in the negotiation process as a result of this. We have a mandate, we are going to deliver on that mandate, and I am confident that the National Party will not only regain the support which it might have lost now, but that it will return to being the fastest-growing party in this country.

[Venter] Mr. President, you say the closer you get to delivering, the more the support will be regained. But in fact it seems that the opposite is true: The closer you get to delivering, and the closer this settlement, and an election, and a new government comes, the more rapidly the support declines.

[De Klerk] Yes, but the product at the moment is extremely unclear to the public. The problem at the moment is a crisis of credibility: Will we deliver? And that is what causes the problem. We are going to deliver, and when those agreements...

[Venter, interrupting] What is it that you have in mind delivering?

[De Klerk] Delivering on the fundamentals which we stated must be part of a new dispensation in the referendum. Those fundamentals for which we got 68 percent of the white vote. And when we prove, as we intend to

do—because that is what the convergence of opinion is leading to—yes, here they are; then people will judge again on fact and not on uncertainty.

[Venter] You say: Here they are. What will they be? What are the concrete aspects of the delivery...

[De Klerk, interrupting] They will be strong regional government, properly entrenched in the constitution. They will be a bill of rights, basically in step with bills of rights in all successful democracies which have them. They will be checks and balances which can prevent, effectively, the misuse of power. They will be a form of power-sharing. They will be fully independent courts, and so I could continue.

[Venter] The people have a very clear idea that that is what is intended, nevertheless we seem to be experiencing not only a loss of support in your party, but a general increase in despondency.

[De Klerk] They know that is what is intended, but I think there is a substantial percentage of the moderate electorate, not only whites, who are holding their hearts: Can we get it? And who are losing their faith in the possibility that we will actually get it when the agreements are there. Those fears will be driven away, because there will be proof: Here are the agreements. And we will, I'm sure, be able to argue that we don't only have agreements, it's not just words on paper, there are also mechanisms which can uphold those agreements, which can, in a credible way, ensure that those agreements will be adhered to.

[Venter] Mr. President, you talk about a loss of faith. Now surely that loss of faith must be reflected in your party? You're on record as saying there aren't any divisions. But seen from the outside, it seems clear—and if we take the example of the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] arrests, where something around 70 people were arrested, the majority had to be released for lack of evidence. There seemed to be a clear division between Mr. Kriel on the one hand, in his execution of the law and order portfolio, and what Mr. Roelf Meyer is doing in negotiations. How did you personally deal with that matter inside the Cabinet?

[De Klerk] Can I firstly say there's no division in the party, and I'll explain to you why. Because not only the Cabinet, my caucus, they are regularly informed by us. We do not get the opportunity to so regularly inform the public. It's been a long time since I had a talk like this with the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation]. We held a long meeting in Pietersburg the other day. Not much of it was reflected. In opposition newspapers I detect almost a deliberate campaign to undermine the position of the National Party. We have a problem at the moment. The public is not properly informed, specifically...

[Venter, interrupting] Is that not the party's fault?

[De Klerk] ...and I take part of the blame. The party takes part of the blame. But we're getting our house in order, and the new dispensation with regard to our information is taking form now, and we'll be starting to produce. But those who are regularly informed—I wish you could have attended my caucus this morning, it was one of the most enthusiastic caucus meetings which we've held during this whole session. My people are going back to their constituents with absolute vigor, to go and spread our message and our policy and our confidence that we're on the right road, and that we're going to achieve our basic goals.

[Venter] The question, Mr. President, is on the PAC issue. Let me put the question more directly. Did you believe that Mr. Kriel was deserving of censure in that episode and did you do it?

[De Klerk] Mr. Kriel did not take the decision. It was a police decision. He did not politically interfere and it was done. Certain results were achieved. I don't think that the results achieved really lived up to the full expectations which the police had but nonetheless, convictions I think might follow from it. Definitely, certain trials will follow from it. Information was obtained which prevented, according to prima facie evidence, the deaths of people in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg. It was not a wasted effort. The fact that there was a lack of communication between our negotiators and what has happened here can be criticized yes—but on the other hand it is proof of the fact that this was not a political act which was politically planned.

[Venter] But you acknowledge that there was a lack of communication. Do you regret the impact on ...

[De Klerk, interrupting] I think it would have been better if our negotiators knew about it earlier, but I really don't think that it is a major issue. Fact of the matter is the question: Is APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] killing people? Is the PAC taking a strong enough stance against violence or are they ... are they vacillating to such an extent that they have no credibility left? What is the crucial political ...

[Venter, interrupting] Ordinary people would say it's clear that they are vacillating. How long are you prepared to tolerate them doing that in the negotiations?

[De Klerk] I think right this evening Mr. Meyer made a statement—bilaterals will continue and our focus now with regard to the PAC—we must talk about, not words spoken in a multiparty conference, we must talk about implementation of the suspension and the cessation of violence by them, and we are pushing for that and we will act very firmly in that regard. We must bring this to a point now.

[Venter] Mr. de Klerk you will leave shortly for the United States where you and Mr. Mandela jointly will receive a commendation from President de Klerk, yet it strikes one ...

[De Klerk, interrupting] President Clinton.

[Venter] President Clinton. Forgive me. Yet it strikes one that you leave behind a large body of black South Africans who believe that while a pen has been drawn through legislation, apartheid in practice and in reality remains as it is.

[De Klerk] I think there's an element of truth in what you say. I think that the black Americans believe that they also still have forms of segregation. I think where you have different races you have racism. I can't remove racism from the hearts of people and from the minds of people, but I've removed it from the statute books and the government's actions and deeds prove its absolute commitment to remove all forms of racial discrimination and to follow a policy of advancement of those who might have suffered as a result of that backlogs. I experienced from people of all population groups, acceptance of this fact and I don't experience, wherever I go and whomever discusses it with me, a crisis of credibility and our bona fides with regard to this matter.

[Venter] But on that very point, Mr. President, there are those that say at this stage when your party is moving into extending its support base into the black South African community—but in fact that this is a late, eleventh hour conversion of convenience.

[De Klerk] It's just not true. It was a long process which led to a fundamental change in policy way back to 1986. It's almost 10 years ago that we changed our policy. What did happen is that, let's say, with the 2 February 1990, suddenly everybody started believing us that yes, we're doing and we will continue to do it. We want to achieve the goal of ridding South Africa of all forms of discrimination.

[Venter] May I ask you, one speaks of the Muzorewa option, where a reforming party convinces itself by extending and adopting a new set of values that it can become a meaningful player in a new dispensation and then historically fails to do so. Is there any specific reason why you should not be a victim to just that?

[De Klerk] I'm not a Muzorewa, I'm a reformer. I believe in what I'm doing. I'm not beholden to anybody and nobody pays my accounts. I'm the leader of one of the two oldest parties in this country, not something which has just sprung up and artificially created. The National Party has been here almost since the beginning of the century and will be part of the future of this country.

[Venter] Mr. President, we must unfortunately end our conversation there. Thank you very much for joining us.

Goldstone Commission Clears SADF of Training Inkatha

MB2406090593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2154 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Johannesburg June 23 SAPA—The Goldstone Commission has cleared the South African Defence

Force [SADF] of training Inkatha supporters to perpetrate violence, but criticises it for a lack of transparency which lays it open to suspicion.

The Commission investigated alleged SADF complicity in current violence through the alleged funding of front organisations and the training of Inkatha men in the Caprivi Strip in 1986.

The allegations were published in THE WEEKLY MAIL in January 1992. The newspaper's informers claimed the recruits were used as hit squads in black townships.

The commission stressed that when referring to "current or recent violence" it intended to refer to violence which took place after July 17, 1991, the date of promulgation of the Prevention of Violence and Intimidation Act, 139 of 1991.

A report by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, Adv J. Rossouw, Mr G. Steyn and Mr S. Moshidi, released on Wednesday, said no justification could be found for the allegation there was SADF involvement in current violence.

This was even though the SADF had admitted training 200 recruits for the kwaZulu Police force in 1986.

The SADF's lack of transparency in dealing with the allegations, thereby creating a lack of trust among the public, was a matter of concern, the four-man committee report said.

"The committee has no doubt that these negative perceptions concerning the SADF, the SA Police and the kwaZulu Police will not be removed until the majority of South Africans believe that those institutions are conducting themselves in a lawful, open and accountable manner. That is not yet the position."

The committee emphasised that in a politically divided society, openness and candour were essential, particularly so from government departments and officials.

"That decisions taken in 1986 may have been justified by the political situation and policies of the time is not now relevant.

"What is relevant is that the public of South Africa should know that what are considered by the majority of South Africans to be unacceptable practices, have ceased."

Reacting to the criticism, SADF Chief Kat Liebenberg said the SADF had taken note of the criticism about the secrecy in which the training took place and the unwillingness to involve public disclosure when the inevitable leaks began to emerge.

"I wish to emphasise that the problem situation dates to a period when the defence force was involved in the combating of terrorism and attacks directed at all population groups in South Africa," he said.

"The public is given the assurance that what was seen as unacceptable practices have ceased."

Concerning the role of THE WEEKLY MAIL, the committee said many of the allegations were unjustified while others were wholly or partially justified.

The newspaper was justified in publishing much of the information given to it by Mbongani Khumalo, an Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] member, the committee said.

This was for two reasons: the information was furnished by a senior IFP member and the allegations in themselves were such that there was a public interest in the information.

Although THE WEEKLY MAIL "did make some extravagant allegations which went further than was justified by the facts relied upon. It did not in any way abuse the freedom of the press which is a fundamental right in any democratic society".

WEEKLY MAIL Co-Editor Anton Harber said in response that although the paper was pleased that the basic facts of the articles had been confirmed, it was dismayed that the committee had failed to draw the obvious conclusion to the information.

This, Mr Harber alleged, was "that military intelligence fuelled the violence in Natal and subsequently in the Transvaal and that the South African and kwaZulu Police must bear a responsibility for violence in Ermelo".

"We are dismayed that the commission should publish so inadequate a report on so important a subject", Mr Harber said in a statement. He alleged the culprits had been let off the hook.

The report also found that:

—the front companies set up by the SADF in the 1980's could not be linked to current violence.

—claims of SA Police involvement in the violence in Wesselson near Ermelo could not be substantiated, although police conduct in the township was ineffective and inefficient.

In his response to this SAP Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe said he had instructed that police investigations pertaining to the "Black Cats" gang in Wesselson be fully investigated.

Criticism against individual members of the SAP would also receive attention, and case dockets would be presented to the attorney-general on completion of investigations, Gen van der Merwe said in a statement.

—the Goldstone Committee concluded its report by saying it wished to emphasise the necessity of a body which could establish the truth or falsity of all allegations of public violence and intimidation made daily by many people and organisations.

"It may be considered advisable to establish such an independent body or to increase the staff of the commission to enable it to carry out this function."

SADF Responds to Criticism

MB2306153893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1507 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Cape Town June 23 SAPA—The South African Defence Force [SADF] had taken note of the criticism expressed in the report of the Goldstone Commission of inquiry into public violence and will avoid such actions in the future, the chief of the SADF, General Kat Liebenberg, said in a statement on Wednesday.

"I wish to emphasise that the problem situation dates to a period when the defence force was involved in the combating of terrorism and attacks directed at all population groups in South Africa," he said in reaction to the commission's report. General Liebenberg said he also took note of the criticism about the secrecy in which the training took place and the unwillingness to involve public disclosure when the inevitable leaks began to emerge. "The public is given the assurance that what was seen as unacceptable practices have ceased."

Gen Liebenberg said he was satisfied that the matter was properly investigated by the Goldstone Committee. This applied especially to the findings that:

- There was no evidence to suggest that the front companies of the SADF had been—or are—involved in current or recent violence and intimidation;
- The secret training given to 200 Zulus in 1986 in Caprivi, as well as the behaviour of the SADF in respect of this training, should be seen in the light of the security circumstances which prevailed then, as well as the policy of the government during that time;
- There was no evidence to suggest that the SADF provided training for the establishment of hit squads;
- There was no justification in the allegations by THE WEEKLY MAIL concerning the involvement of the SADF in the current violence in South Africa.

SABC Board Chairman Van Zyl Slabbert Resigns

MB2406204493 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1800 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Dr. Frederick van Zyl Slabbert has resigned as chairman of the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] board. However, he will stay on as a board member. This latest development in the furor over the appointment of a new SABC board comes after a marathon 5-hour meeting of the board this afternoon.

The new acting chairperson is Dr. Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri. Explaining why he had tendered his resignation at a news conference a few minutes ago, Dr. van Zyl Slabbert said he did not want to be seen, as he put it, as De Klerk's man.

[Begin Slabbert recording] If the board wishes to elect me as chairperson or deputy chairperson I would be willing to consider it, provided we could have some clarity on the time and workload it entails. I'm not available in a full-time capacity, and never have been, and if this is what the board desired I would have had to decline. From the outset this has been my position. I still hold to it. I still strongly believe that neither a political organization such as the National Party or the African National Congress, nor a special-interest lobby like the Campaign for Independent Broadcasting should be in a position to impose a chairperson or deputy chairperson on the board. [end recording]

Dr. Casaburri said that the board had accepted Dr. van Zyl Slabbert's resignation with regret. She also called on Dr. Franklin Sonn and Dr. Enos Mabuza to reconsider their decision and to take up their positions on the board. Dr. Matsepe-Casaburri will act as chairperson until the board elects a new chairperson.

Youth League Leader Wants Mbeki for ANC Deputy

MB2406130293 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 24 Jun 93 p 19

[Interview with Peter Mokaba, leader of the African National Congress Youth League, by Kaizer Nyatumba—place and date not given]

[Text] On the question of who embodies the views of the Youth League in the ANC [African National Congress] leadership:

In looking at the gap left by Comrade Tambo, the Youth League and myself have taken a formal position that Comrade Thabo Mbeki is the man who should now become the deputy-president of the ANC, with an understanding that when the time comes for Comrade Mandela to rest, Comrade Thabo should become the president of the country. That is the decision of the Youth Leagues, presented to the last NEC [national executive committee] meeting of the ANC, where the slogan (issue) was also discussed.

On why the Youth League favours Thabo Mbeki:

There is no other man who would want to oppose a man like Thabo. The Youth League will stick to that name. We are satisfied in our consultations with most of the regions, and structures such as MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe; Spear of the Nation—ANC military wing], that Thabo is the choice, whether you go to conference or you do it today. We were not doing it against anybody. He is simply the best candidate suitable for that job.

He is highly educated both by the West and the East, he was also a leader of the youth in 1962, and has always showed boldness, for instance when they were opening up new fronts in order to infiltrate arms and ammunition inside the country.

He is also one of the most intelligent—in the very same class as Mandela, Tambo and Sisulu. He is also very humble.

We have done our own research and we as the youth were hurt by distortions suggesting Thabo is a snob and never mixes with people.

The fact is that in the same way that Chris (Hani) used to work, when Thabo is in South Africa he is in Soweto discussing with our Youth League there, organising workshops. That aspect of his life is not known.

I was myself surprised that the Youth League's decision was quite unanimous. It was not as if there was a number of names and then we chose him (Mbeki). Everyone suggested him.

On whether the change in ANC leadership positions is imminent:

We want this (elevation of Mbeki to the deputy presidency) to happen now, when the NEC next sits. We need to go into an election campaign fully prepared and with young, energetic people. When we decided this we also took into consideration the health of Walter Sisulu, and discussed this issue with the whole leadership, including Sisulu. We made it clear that we think Comrade Sisulu should take the position of the late OR Tambo (the ANC national chairmanship), and Thabo should take the position of deputy president. It is the view of the youth that the constitution allows that. We would have preferred a conference to give Thabo a very, very broad mandate—because conference (would endorse our choice)—but we don't want to delay the strengthening of the movement, and therefore we have suggested that whenever this issue is raised again Thabo should become deputy, or at least national chairperson if we don't have to change the deputy president now.

On how this affects Cyril Ramaphosa:

We think Cyril is okay as secretary-general. As I've said there was no other candidate. It is not as if we are choosing Thabo above any others. It's just that, in his class, there seems to be no other person. We would see Cyril as a secretary-general. At the (last ANC) conference the youth preferred Alfred Nzo, but once Cyril was elected we went to him and promised to work with him. He is a capable administrator.

On stopping the "Kill the boer" slogan:

The SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] and the National Party have succeeded in distorting the meaning of our songs. I understand the political reasons for which we (the ANC) have taken this decision (to stop the chant)—that farmers are being killed, and that is not our programme. We hate to give people who are conducting these heinous acts a cover. That is not our programme, and we condemn it.

But I'm also worried that this might be extended to cover all our songs that refer to the boers. People fail to see that this is not racism—we are referring to white supremacy.

I certainly do not like to be pushed around by the enemy—any threat they make against me makes me more adamant. If they had not said things like they are going to charge me, I would have looked at this matter differently. But then of course it became more and more difficult to continue defying the Government on that score.

We decided we should also not aid the killers of the farmers. I agree with those reasons, but I also pointed out it needs to be recognized our people have always sung about the boers.

On the June 16 chanting incident:

What is happening is that they are now moving from saying we should not sing the words "Kill the boer, kill the farmer" to saying we should not toyi-toyi [protest danced]. I specifically did not sing the chant, but at the end of my speech I toyi-toyied. That is what I have done since the ANC took the decision (to stop the chant).

On whether he supports a government of national unity (GNU):

I was deeply worried together with the Youth League on the question of a GNU. If we are unable to effect fundamental changes in the way things are done, we may end up with apartheid or neo-colonialism.

Those are not the kind of things I have spent my life fighting for. But we as the youth have always said that once the movement has taken a decision, all of us would be bound by it. The majority of the ANC has approved the GNU. Thabo Mbeki said we must ensure we win the election effectively so we can implement decisions.

This situates the question of the GNU on our ability to organise, and no longer looks like the kind of compromise it looked like when it was first mooted.

On the possibility of a vice-presidency for F.W. de Klerk:

The principle of majority rule should not be sacrificed. If De Klerk takes such a position, and the ANC is a majority party and he serves an ANC government, I have no problem.

But if for any reason the president from the majority party is unable to continue (in office), it should then not be automatic that a person from a minority party should become the president.

On Chief Buthelezi in the GNU:

As a person, I do not have problems with him. But when he allows the IFP to do the kinds of things that it is doing and allows himself to become a puppet of De Klerk and does not have any compassion ... I can never be proud of (him) as an African.

But even if (he) does not reach the (five percent) threshold, but commits himself to peace, reconstruction and unity and wants to confound counterrevolution, I would approve (of his inclusion in government). I want a government in which the ANC has got the power and the magnanimity to take into our Cabinet people from other parties who are committed to peace, reconstruction and unity.

On his own future career:

I intend to stay in politics, to continue to serve my people. It is difficult to talk about oneself, because things will depend on other people. (But) I will make myself available for the ANC list for Parliament, if that is the desire of the people.

If the movement decided (I should be in a Cabinet), I would be available for that or for any kind of position.

I would (prefer) something that brings me closer to the youth and rural people ... not something which would make me a bureaucrat.

I am doing (tertiary) studies because if we South Africans are to be different from the rest of Africa, we need to master the management of human resources and human material.

Negotiations Over Unitary, Federal State Viewed

MB2406202993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2000
GMT 24 Jun 93

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg June 24 SAPA—The first signs of a possible constitutional compromise between the parties favouring a federal option as opposed to those wanting a unitary state was witnessed on Thursday.

In a rare bout of what seemed to be compromise, multiparty negotiators bent over backwards to accommodate each other.

Leading the charge were senior negotiators from the government, African National Congress [ANC] and South African Communist Party [SACP].

They went out of their way to reassure the so-called federalists, often broadly lumped under the umbrella of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), that their positions were guaranteed right into the new South Africa.

A scenario possibly acceptable to both camps appeared for the first time at the end of a long day's debate which saw the Conservative Party's confederalist option roundly hammered.

Broadly the scenario is for a "first" or interim constitution which will entrench national and regional constitutional principles until after the country's first election, tentatively set for April 27 next year, and right into the "final" constitution.

The "first" constitution, as negotiators nowadays seem to prefer to call it, will be drawn up in the current non-elected negotiations at Kempton Park.

That means whoever wins the election will be compelled to include specific constitutional principles in the final new South Africa constitution.

Furthermore, on the same day that national elections will be held, so too will regional polls.

"Easy", a senior negotiator said after Thursday's debate. "You have a regional and national count of votes."

That means that when the newly-elected government takes office, so do the regional governments.

And what some negotiators described privately as the cherry on the top for the federalists, is that regional governments will have representation in the national legislature.

That, broadly speaking again, is how the scenario was sketched in the 26-party negotiating council on Thursday.

Negotiators, approached afterwards, said the finer details could and in some cases would change, but in essence that was the picture as envisaged.

"It (negotiations process) is moving towards a resolution," a senior Cosag negotiator predicted cautiously afterwards. "Each side is giving something."

Give what, people might ask.

The ANC and its allies get a so-called two-phase transition process, and the federalists get entrenched guarantees on strong regions.

"The way out is a two-phase approach with built-in guarantees for the one-phase approach," the leader of the National Party [NP] delegation, Dr. Dawie de Villiers, told the negotiating council.

A bridge-building approach to the two scenarios, he explained further. "We need to stretch out and build a bridge.

"I do not therefore accept that the two-phase approach is only for a unitary state," Dr. de Villiers said.

"We (NP) strongly stand for regional government which is fully attainable by the two-phase approach."

ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa said: "It is wrong to say there is no proposal here which could provide the answers.

"To address this tension (in negotiations) bridge-building is necessary...marry the two scenarios.

"We should actually grasp the nettle and look at how regional government should function."

As far as Mr. Ramaphosa was concerned, "those favouring a two-phase approach have gone a long way to address the fears of the regional government supporters".

"Actually we are all proponents of regional government," he added.

SACP National Chairman Joe Slovo said federalism and unitarism had become "dirty words".

"I am not terrified by the word federal and no-one should be terrified by the word unitary.

"...Our emerging state will combine elements of unitarism and federalism."

It was important, he said, that the elected constitution-making body, or constituent assembly, "won't ride roughshod over regions".

Ways and mechanisms had to be found to guarantee constitutional principles. "There will have to be a powerful regional element to the constitution [words indistinct]" Mr. Slovo said.

He called for parties to explore and exchange views on the different possibilities. "There could be elections at the national and regional level at the same time," he added.

A meeting point could be found where the fears of both sides could be addressed.

Democratic Party National Chairman Colin Eglin said: "There has to be government at the regional level for the transition. We can't have a constitutional vacuum".

"I am glad the debate has taken this turn," Afrikaner Volksunie [National Union] negotiator Chris de Jager said next.

"If this body (council) can write a first or interim constitution for a national body why can't it write a constitution for a regional body?"

Mr. de Jager suggested that the technical committee on constitutional issues "get down and write two constitutions (national and regional)".

A member of the ANC alliance said afterwards there was also the possibility of one constitution for the country which covered both national and regional aspects.

The leader of the kwaZulu government delegation, Dr. Ben Ngubane, said he was happy Mr. Slovo had "introduced a new element of realism" into Thursday's debate.

At the end of the day's discussions the technical committee was given the task of addressing aspects of the new-found spirit of compromise and to report on its findings.

Thursday might one day be known as a turning point in the negotiations process.

PAC, Government Bilateral Meeting Adjourned

MB2406113293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1011 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg June 24 SAPA—Thursday morning's bilateral meeting between the government and the Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] was adjourned after just more than an hour so the PAC delegation could consult.

Sources close to the meeting, held at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park, said the government wanted "answers" to a number of questions. These included clarification on the PAC's commitment to the "declaration on cessation/suspension of hostilities, armed struggle and violence" which the organisation supported "in principle" at multiparty talks earlier this week.

Subsequently, however, the PAC indicated a suspension or cessation of its armed struggle was "not on the cards".

The government also wanted to know from the PAC whether security force members, including policemen, were still targets of the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army [APLA] since the PAC's adoption in principle of the declaration, which was this week passed unanimously in the 26-party negotiating council.

"We're waiting for answers from the PAC," a government source said after the adjournment of the first session on Thursday morning. "They said they haven't got a mandate and need to consult," the source added.

The leader of the government delegation, Minister of Local Government Dr Tertius Delpot, described the first session as "quite substantial". He declined to comment further.

The PAC delegation includes negotiator Patricia de Lille and official Willi Seriti.

The PAC indicated to the negotiating council this week that their main complaint was that the material and equipment confiscated during the recent police swoop on the organisation had not been returned.

Senior government negotiator and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer informed the negotiating council the equipment would be returned "immediately".

Parliamentary Session Ends in Cape Town 24 Jun

MB2406093193 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] This year's Parliamentary session ends in Cape Town today but the cabinet has decided that a short session is to be held in September to deal primarily with legislation related to the constitutional process. The government announced after a cabinet meeting that the short session would begin on September the 13th. Another short session towards the end of October is also

envisaged to finalize legislation on the acceptance of a possible transitional constitution. The October session will probably be the last session by the current Parliament as no further sessions are anticipated before the election at the end of April next year.

ANC Says Role of Military Intelligence Needs Review

MB2406163593 Johannesburg Afrikaans Stereo Radio Network in Afrikaans 1400 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] The present role and responsibilities of Military Intelligence will need urgent review under a new dispensation. This was said by Mr. Joe Nhlanhla, head of the ANC's [African National Congress] security department, and Major General Chris Thirion, former deputy chief of staff intelligence, in the South African Defense Force, at a seminar in Johannesburg. Mr. Nhlanhla said at present Military Intelligence has a bureaucratic structure, its size is disproportionate, and its restructuring would need to be investigated by a technical committee. Gen. Thirion agreed on the need for a joint intelligence body which would include structures outside the government. He said Military Intelligence had played a significant role in political reform, adding that senior officers at the time had told cabinet members that South Africa's problems needed a political solution.

Attack on Minibus Taxi in Evaton 23 Jun Kills 1

MB2406092593 Johannesburg SABA in English 0754 GMT 24 Jul 93

[Text] Johannesburg June 24 SABA—One man was killed and another wounded when four unidentified gunmen opened fire on passengers who were alighting from a minibus taxi in the Vaal Triangle township of Evaton on Wednesday.

The dead man, aged about 20, has not yet been identified.

Another victim of the shooting, 36-year-old Joseph Mokwena, is recovering at the Sebokeng Hospital after he was wounded in the leg.

Police said the attack occurred when the gunmen, who had apparently been hiding near some houses, burst onto the scene as the taxi pulled up.

The attackers opened fire on passengers trying to escape from the taxi, and then fled.

The motive for the attack is not known.

In another incident in the same road in the township, police on Wednesday night found the body of a Sebokeng resident who had been shot in the head.

The man has been identified as 22-year-old Jacob Molakeng.

Police said also they fired rubber bullets to disperse a rioting mob which was stoning a tow vehicle in Evaton on Wednesday afternoon.

Attackers Kill 4 With AK-47 Rifles in Alrode

MB2406100493 Johannesburg SABA in English 0948 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Johannesburg June 24 SABA—Four people—two white men, a white woman and a black man—were killed when attackers opened fire with AK-47 rifles on motorists and passers-by in the East Rand industrial area of Alrode on Thursday morning. SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reports. Another black woman is in a critical condition in hospital.

Police said a white man and a white woman were shot and killed in their cars. The black man was killed while standing on the pavement.

Another white man died later in hospital.

Bystanders said the gunmen had casually walked up to the cars and opened fire.

The names of the victims have not been released yet.

ANC Investigates Violence in Natal Midlands

MB2406081393 Johannesburg SABA in English 2249 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Pietermaritzburg June 23 SABA—A delegation from the African National Congress' [ANC] National Executive Committee travelled to Bergville in Natal's Midlands on Wednesday to investigate the killing of seven of its supporters there at the weekend. John Nkadameng and Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim joined up with Midlands Chairman Harry Gwala to visit the Woodford Stadium outside Bergville where the ANC supporters were gunned down.

A co-ordinator of the ANC Bergville branch, Mduduzi Mazibuko, alleged parents had been told they were not allowed to bury their children in Bergville, but had to do so in the Transkei. They were allegedly told this by Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] members as "the ANC are Xhosa and they live in the Transkei", according to Mr Mazibuko.

The ANC said many young people between the ages of 18 and 20 had fled the area in fear of their lives. Mr Mazibuko said about 57 refugees were staying with relatives while others were being sheltered in Estcourt by ANC comrades. However, they were determined to return to their homes.

"We are the youth, and the only people who can determine the pace of change of our lives in this country. Our parents have been intimidated by the IFP and would have attended the (weekend) meeting if they had not been intimidated," Mr Mazibuko said.

Mr Gwala said this flight from the area would only precede more, and worse, violence. "The youth who have fled are angry, they are not with their families and living in their own homes. You cannot keep them away forever, they will want to return to their homes. It is their right to choose their homes and politics. They will not take this lying down.

"History has shown, in areas such as Richmond, that when people return to their homes there is an escalation of violence as others resist them. In Bergville it will be even worse as it is a wider area. "You cannot tell people where to live."

"However, if they went back and there was fighting, people would say they had brought the attacks upon themselves," said Mr Gwala.

The recent upsurge in violence was a historic pattern. Whenever there was a chance for democratic progress, violence was instigated, Mr Gwala said. "Whenever the ANC makes progress in negotiations, forces opposed to a meaningful breakthrough/agreement use violence to derail it. We must expect the violence to increase."

Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillett said he could not comment on the allegations that victims had been denied burial in the area.

"However, it is obvious there is a misunderstanding and the ANC should meet with the local Inkosi. "We, the IFP, call for the timely intervention of the Estcourt Wembezi local dispute resolution committee, to facilitate the setting up of such a meeting between an anc delegation and the Inkosi and his delegation."

Mr Tillett dismissed the other claims as objectionable and contemptible as the IFP would not forcibly prevent people from returning to their homes.

Human Rights Commission Reports 78 Killed Last Week

MB2406080793 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2052 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Johannesburg June 23 SAPA—As two political rivals met to hammer out solutions to continuing violence, the Human Rights Commission [HRC] reported 78 deaths in the past week—triple the amount the previous seven days. With issues still unresolved after the milestone meeting between African National Congress [ANC] and Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] leaders Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the HRC pointed out that natal had recorded its highest weekly figure, 46, so far this year.

An ANC delegation led by John Nkadimeng left for Bergville in the Midlands on Wednesday to investigate the killing of seven of its supporters there at the weekend. They were gunned down, allegedly by IFP supporters, at a stadium where the ANC was launching a branch. The IFP supporters apparently claimed the ANC did not have permission to use the stadium.

On the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging], 24 people were killed in the last week—an increase of 13.

A possible clash between the rival groups was avoided in Tembisa on the east Rand on Wednesday when hundreds of ANC demonstrators decided against marching past a hostel of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters, SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] television news reported.

Last week, six people were killed when a group of heavily armed men rampaged through three sections of the township. Residents claimed the attackers came from a nearby hostel and the ANC PWV region accused the IFP of making provocative accusations shortly before the attack.

More than 70 people were killed in clashes in spill-over violence that erupted after ANC protesters marched past an IFP hostel in Thokoza on the East Rand in May.

In the latest reported incident, a policeman shot dead a man found to have army equipment and a Makarov pistol at Katlehong on the East Rand on Tuesday.

Mandela, Sisulu Said To Control New Business Group

MB2306090593 Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 17 Jun 93 BUSINESS BEELD Supplement p S1

[By Curt von Keyserlingk]

[Text] Mr. Nelson Mandela, president of the ANC [African National Congress] and the deputy president, Mr. Walter Sisulu, control a new business group that could become a supplier to a new government, as well as a financial donor to the ANC.

They are the trustees of the Batho Batho Trust, the sole shareholder in the company Thebe Investment Corporation. Both were established last year.

Batho Batho legal representative Ismail Ayob says the trust's mission is to use Thebe's profit for community-based objectives. He says that donations to the ANC are definitely not excluded in this definition.

BUSINESS BEELD's sources say the idea of establishing a profitable business venture to finance the ANC was discussed in 1991 at the movement's congress in Durban. This was discussed as a matter of urgency because the ANC's biggest donors, the Scandinavian countries, would end their contributions soon.

Thebe's managing director, Mr. Vusi Khanyile, former ANC treasury official says there is no mention of this in the minutes of the congress.

Among other projects, plans are being considered to undertake a joint project with MacMillan Bolewa to market educational books. Mr. Khanyile says MacMillan has offered Thebe 20 percent of the shares in the planned

new company, at no charge. He said Thebe has not yet accepted the offer since Thebe prefers to have the controlling interest.

Other publishers are angry about the transaction, described it as unfair.

Mr. Khanyile denies allegations that Thebe will provide a channel for communication to future government structures in exchange for free shares.

He says: "We accept the right for other publishers to exist no matter what their political preferences."

Thebe has a 45 percent interest in the newly established Bhekisizwe Computer Systems appointed by Digital Equipment Corporation [DEC] of America as an agent for its products in South Africa. DEC is the world's second biggest computer manufacturer and until now it has refused to officially sell its products to South Africa. Its representative in South Africa, Mr. Al Peters, says they have plans to make DEC the market leader in this country.

Barlow-Rands computer affiliate Persetech has a 25 percent interest in Bhekisizwe, and a black management consultancy, Vela International, owns 20 percent.

The remaining 10 percent will be kept in trust until a sufficient number of black employees in Bhekisizwe obtain the necessary seniority to obtain share allocations.

ANC Marshals Outside Court of Hani Murder Trial

MB2306084193 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0705 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Johannesburg June 23 SAPA—A handful of African National Congress [ANC] marshals had gathered before 9am outside the Rand Supreme Court in Johannesburg where three people accused of the assassination of SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani were to appear later on Wednesday [23 June].

The group shouted ANC slogans and held a poster saying, "You Can Never Kill What Hani Stood For".

About 50 uniformed policeman had positioned themselves outside the court building in Pritchard Street, while several officers were visible in the foyer of the court building.

A large group of reporters stood on the steps to the main entrance, which was closed to allow police to conduct weapons searches.

Earlier, a group of right wing supporters from Krugersdorp—home town of the Derby-Lewis couple who are among the accused—entered the building to be issued with tickets allowing them to attend the hearing.

Pritchard Street, which runs past the court building, would be closed to traffic as soon as more people started arriving, a traffic policeman said.

The hearing is expected to start around 10am.

By just after 9am, there was no sign of police sharpshooters or razor wire barricades—as was the case when the three accused appeared in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court earlier this year.

Slovo Bodyguards Barred From Court

MB2306090493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0836 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Johannesburg June 23 SAPA—South African Communist Party Chairman Joe Slovo nearly didn't make it to the court hearing of the Hani assassination accused when he was temporarily prevented from entering the Rand Supreme Court by police on Wednesday.

Two uniformed policemen slammed the front door of the court building in Mr Slovo's face when he arrived there at about 9.20am for the start of the trial. The policemen said the public gallery was already full and that there was no place for Mr Slovo.

Mr Slovo had arrived to attend the start of the trial of Conservative Party member Clive Derby-Lewis, Derby-Lewis' wife, Gaye, and Janusz Jakob Walus, a Polish emigrant, for the murder of SA Communist Party Secretary General Chris Hani. Mr Hani was assassinated in front of his house in Boksburg on April 10.

As a small crowd of ANC [African National Congress] supporters toyi-toyed [protest danced] and chanted "Kill the Boer, Kill the Farmer" outside the court, a car with ANC Deputy President Walter Sisulu drove up. Mr Slovo got into the car and conferred with Mr Sisulu.

About 15 minutes later Mr Sisulu and Mr Slovo were allowed into the court. A policeman in charge said three people had been removed from the court room to accommodate them. The door was then shut again, causing a furor among Mr Slovo's body guards, who were prevented from accompanying him.

Mr Sisulu's wife Albertina and ANC [African National Congress] Women's League President Gertrude Shope were also turned away from the court.

However, Mr Hani's best friend, ANC PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] Chairman Tokyo Sexwale, and ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa were allowed entry on condition that some of their supporters leave the court to make room for them.

Meanwhile, a tense situation developed between a crowd of about 200 toyi-toying ANC youngsters and a large number of uniformed police outside the court building. The policeman in charge, a Major Peché, requested the young protesters to leave as their demonstration was illegal.

Three Wits [Witwatersrand]-Vaal Peace Secretariat monitors then negotiated with the major, saying the demonstration was peaceful. Maj Peché argued that if he allowed the ANC demonstration he would have to permit right-wing demonstrators too.

He told the monitors to get the crowd under control, failing which he would take action as a regional ANC leader then pleaded with the group to move to the nearby Methodist Church and the crowd, after some hesitance, toyi-toyi off shouting, "Kill the Boer, Kill the Farmer".

Earlier, Mr Slovo, ringed by reporters, said, "This is a day of immense sadness and tragic irony".

"Sad because this trial will show that South Africa has lost one of its finest sons, a tragic irony because he was gunned down when he had become one of the biggest campaigners for peace. Let justice take its course."

ANC's Ramaphosa Addresses Trade Union Conference

MB1906121993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1131 GMT 19 Jun 93

[Text] Cape Town June 19 SAPA—African National Congress [ANC] Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa hailed workers on Saturday [19 June] for helping to propel the negotiation process forward. Addressing a South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union [SACTWU] conference Mr Ramaphosa also said the tripartite alliance should formulate their programme of socio-economic reconstruction in consultation with other democratic forces.

"In addition to our liberation movement, credit must go to organisations such as the trade unions, tempered in the furnace of the fiercest struggles, which have not flinched from the goals we have set ourselves despite the vicious onslaught we have faced," he told delegates. It is important to see that the central role workers have played in mass struggles linked to the negotiations process, has been the key in driving the negotiations process forward."

He gave an instance as the November 4 to 5, 1991 general strike surrounding demands for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

On agreements reached between trade unions and employers to address workers' immediate needs, Mr Ramaphosa warned there was need to ensure that the initiatives did not place obstacles in the way of a future democratic government.

"There is a danger that agreements reached today could inhibit a future democratic society from introducing measures aimed at a far-reaching transformation," he told the conference. These initiatives are still taking place in a situation where political and economic power remain concentrated in the hands of a minority. We therefore need to be careful that the processes we are embarking on

address peoples' immediate needs, but don't place blockages in the way of long-term change."

Mr Ramaphosa also said a programme of socio-economic transformation should be hammered out in consultation with other mass formations. "Any programme which is adopted shouldn't only be a programme of the tripartite alliance, but should be a programme formulated by a wide range of democratic forces, especially the mass formations which will have to play a large role in implementing the programme," he said.

The programme would succeed only if it was mass-driven, given opposition from "all sorts of hostile forces which want it to fail, both locally and internationally". "Our mass formations, particularly trade unions, civics, and others will have to fully involve the people, together with the democratic state, and our international allies, in implementing and defending the programme," he said.

Mr Ramaphosa also addressed the question of the trade unions' role in the forthcoming elections and the trade union independence. He said there was no contradiction in a strongly democratic and independent trade union deciding to support a political party or organisation, if its members believed such support would further their interests.

"By engaging parties in an election, and supporting them on the basis of specific platforms, trade unions are not giving away their independence. Rather they are, from a position of independent strength, asserting their influence and their power to act in a way which furthers their members interests," he said.

Any union which distanced itself from the key political issues and actors gave up its ability to significantly influence the political direction the country takes. "At this point in our country's history, this would be a suicidal course for workers to take. What workers need more than anything is for strong independent unions which actively engage in the process in a way which furthers their interests," Mr Ramaphosa said.

Namibian Representative Pledges Negotiations Support

MB2306084493 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 2000 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Namibia has appointed its first representative to South Africa since gaining independence three years ago. The appointment of Mr. Josua Hoebebe follows last month's trilateral meeting in Windhoek between the foreign ministers of South Africa, Namibia, and Angola.

Mr. Hoebebe, also a member of the Namibian Parliament and deputy whip of SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization], presented a letter of introduction to Foreign Minister Pik Botha in Cape Town today. Mr. Hoebebe's appointment can be seen as a forerunner to full diplomatic ties between the two neighboring countries.

[Begin Hoebeb recording] Now that your country is moving towards a negotiated settlement, we felt that our presence is necessary to give you the kind of support you need in order to move forward. [end recording]

Shipping Trade With Angola Drops 40 Percent

MB2206145993 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1100 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Shipping trade between South Africa and Angola has dropped by more than 40 percent because of the unstable political situation in that country. A spokesman for one of South Africa's major shipping lines, Mr. Nigel Paul, told our Cape Town staff that his company provided a monthly service to Angola and that this would only be upgraded if the situation improved. He said cargo flows had decreased since the election and subsequent political destabilization as a result of the civil war. Three other shipping lines, two of them Angolan owned, also carry cargo to the war-torn country.

Atomic Energy Corporation Head on Export of Uranium

MB2206183493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1813 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Parliament June 23 SAPA—The Atomic Energy Corporation [AEC] had sold R[and]12.4 million worth of natural and enriched uranium hexafluoride in a number of overseas contracts in its 1992/93 financial year, AEC Chief Executive Dr. Waldo Stumpf said in the organisation's annual report on Wednesday.

He said these exports comprised 11.2 percent of total local and overseas nuclear fuel sales.

Local demand for nuclear fuel had once again declined, and attempts to open up new export markets were hampered by an oversupply of enrichment and conversion services on the international market.

They were also [word indistinct] active competition in the short-term market where prices were considerably below contract prices, and a "technological hurdle" preventing market entry for fabricated nuclear fuel assemblies.

Further contracts for conversion and enrichment services, as well as for fabrication of fuel assemblies under sub-contract to a European manufacturer had been concluded for export in the 1993 financial year.

A facility for production of fission molybdenum had been completed and the isotope was already being manufactured for the SA market. Prospects for a multi-million rand export market looked "promising."

Dr. Stumpf said overall sales by the AEC, including non-nuclear products and services, had increased by 25.4 percent on the 1992 year, while cost control reduced state's allocation to the AEC by a third.

State funding for operations had been chopped by R310 million during the past years.

Referring to the state president's statement in March on SA's nuclear capability, AEC Chairman Dr. J W L de Villiers said it would be to the advantage of the AEC's commercialisation drive that the cloak of secrecy over its activities had finally been lifted.

The state president's announcement had finally removed all doubts about SA's future nuclear policy.

"In addition it has served to confirm the level of technology achieved by South African nuclear scientists," he said.

"We appreciate the sacrifices made by these employees over the years by surrendering their academic freedom to work under difficult conditions of secrecy."

Use of Technology in Defense Training Reported

MB2206181293 Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 18 Jun 93 p 9

[Marga Ley reports: "'Video-Game Training' for 'New' SADF"]

[Text] A period of adaptation and problems awaits the defense force in the future. Provision will have to be made for MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe, Spear of the Nation—ANC Military Wing] and other private armies in a new dispensation. This could pose huge demands on training at a time when defense budgets are shrinking. Military reporter Marga Ley says technology is the answer, following a visit to defense training centers in the Orange Free State, northern Cape, and the Western Province.

The research and training wing of the army's infantry school at Oudtshoorn has the task of predicting the future. Because it takes 10 to 15 years to develop weaponry, this difficult task is needed to ensure that the defense force is always ready for battle and that its soldiers maintain a high standard.

Political realities are also taken into account here. Commanding officer of the Infantry school, Colonel Koos Liebenberg, says directly: "We should stop saying that the black man will not make a good soldier."

"We have already made provisions for integration with other military groups. We have no problem with any democratically elected government. We do not want to become a Third World army."

Commandant Andries van Wyk, commanding officer of the research and training wing, says their biggest challenge is to maintain existing standards in defense training.

"Technology will determine the suitability of a candidate. Your standard remains high when, for example, your equipment is used to solve problems the soldier

once had to contend with. All he has to do now is to direct the red dot on his target and pull the trigger," according to Commandant Van Wyk.

Technology is mostly simple and often easily accessible. Despite the arms embargo, for years now South African soldiers have been training on a simulator (a lot like video games), using mortars to destroy targets in Sussex, on British territory. This system, which saves the SADF [South African Defense Force] budget approximately 4 million rands annually, was bought from Britain in 1984.

"Computerization also solves the problem experienced with differing abilities. There is also the added advantage that if a computer fails someone the person will accept it, while if a white fails a black, then he might say that it is a racist action," Commandant Van Wyk says.

Aside from the fact that there is no war in which to test equipment, there is also not as much money as there once was. Even a R4 cartridge costs 64 cents. At a defense training school in Bloemfontein the average projectile costs 3,000 rands. There are even missiles that cost 120,000 rands each.

According to Commandant Tim Rudman, candidates must be well trained, especially in Maths and Science. A lot of the school's training is done on simulators where an electronic beep replaces the 120,000-rand missile and it can be "fired off" as often as necessary.

At the school's miniature shooting range every 3,000-rand shot is replaced by a 22-bullet, which costs approximately 60 cents. Last year the range saved 93.3 million rands.

Even tank drivers receive their first training on a simulator so that they can bump into other vehicles and buildings before they get a chance at the real thing.

A simulator is also used at 1 SA Infantry Battalion to train Ratel-gunners. It costs approximately 17,800 rands to train one gunner. The new simulator will cut this cost by half.

At the antiaircraft defense school in Kimberley, antiaircraft gunners are trained on simulators, resulting in a saving of 23 percent. School commanding officer Colonel Jan Muller says: "This is very popular. If we had to attach a vending machine to the system, I am certain that the men would spend all their money on the machine, thus paying for their own training."

And the planning continues. At the infantry school a simulator is being developed where soldiers will be trained to handle an R4 assault rifle. On this simulator 230 soldiers will receive training daily, whereas the old method would take up nine hours per person.

This system would be regarded as unique worldwide because the weapon will not be attached to a wire. The soldier would be able to experience using the R4 rifle just as he would at an actual outdoor shooting range, even the kickback effect of the rifle.

Instead of a 64-cent bullet, a laser beam will hit the target. The laser beam is effective up to 15 meters and is safe, according to Colonel Liebenberg.

Another future adaptation being planned concerns the old British doctrines still being used in the defense force. Commandant Van Wyk says: "The British doctrines do not suit the people of Africa. We are now busy writing doctrines for the future. We are rewriting 49 handbooks."

Article Notes Retreat of 'White Left' From Struggle

MB2206142993 Johannesburg MAYIBUYE in English
Jun 93 pp 31, 32

[Article by unidentified former member of now-defunct Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee]

[Text] It is often said that the darkest and coldest time is just before dawn. Those of us that spent the night at FNB [First National Bank] Stadium during the vigil for Chris Hani can testify to that. And for those of us who have been active in the struggle for liberation for a long time, this period is probably one of the darkest.

Some people did not stay all night at FNB and many may not have been able to come back the next day. Either the stadium was too full or they had to run the gauntlet of battles between police and youth on the roads leading to the stadium. Some feared coming back. In my observation, yet some, like the "white left," are simply staying away.

Non-Racialism and Racism

The South African liberation struggle has been marked by a very strong commitment to non-racialism. Despite the enormous injury that the white racist regime has meted out to blacks, our liberation movement has stood up again and again to defend the slogan: "South Africa belongs to all who live in it—black and white."

But to hope that no racism against whites exists; to expect that no whites are going to become victims of the racial hatred bred by the regime, is naive. Many "innocent" blacks have become victims of the political violence that has been orchestrated by the apartheid regime. It was only a matter of time before whites would become victims of the reverse process.

Yes, this may be cause for fear. But this fear of violence is not unique to whites. It is one that pervades all our activists. We need to face and overcome that fear together. In addition, as the African National Congress [ANC] comes to power, it is going to want to express the national character of its movement, and white faces are going to be replaced with black and in some cases not purely on merit. Those of us who may be well qualified to take up senior positions in a new government are not going to get them automatically. Or if we do, our

authority may be seriously undermined by others who say: "But s/he is white, floating advantages gained from apartheid privileges."

These are issues which we who come from the "white left" tradition need to confront and take up as challenges. It is not a time of retreat. It is a time to safeguard the non-racial character of our struggle and build it even in the darkest and coldest of times.

Paying Our Dues

There are many of us who have been through the ups and downs of the struggle over the years. We have experienced the heady non-racial days when the UDF [United Democratic Front] had just begun, were mentored by the real giants of our struggle: Beyers Naude, Helen Joseph as well as Chris Hani, Terror Lekota and shared unique experiences in the mass work of the 1980s. Our lives were enormously shaped and enriched by the struggle. Now is the time to repay some of what we received.

If one looked at the crowd gathered to mourn the deaths of Chris Hani and O.R. Tambo, the marches to protest his assassination and in general the participation of whites in the grassroots and mass activities of our movement, there is barely a white to be seen.

Indeed there were many whites among the rows of dignitaries and special guests and there are whites who play leadership roles within the liberation movement. But is that enough? The rest of the whites, who would have appeared at UDF rallies or NUSAS [National Union of South African Students] marches, are now scattered among development organisations, NGO's [nongovernmental organizations], consultancies and, increasingly, in parastatals, city councils and so on. There is nothing wrong with this, but is it enough?

During the days of white UDF organisation, the "white left" would be very disparaging about any suggestions to organise the "white working class." Yet today, those whites that marshalled at the recent mass funerals, came from the contingents of the National Union of Mine-workers.

Similarly, we would poo-poo the idea of liberals being "committed to the struggle." Yet it is many whites who could be labelled liberal who spend long and terrifying hours in the cauldrons of conflict acting as peace monitors and mediators under the auspices of the Peace Accord.

Putting Our Left Foot Forward

If progressive whites want to have a role when the struggle is won, they need to be out on the streets as well, volunteer for marshalling, become active in peace structures, put up posters for their ANC branches and even join MK [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing]. Where were white MK members among the platoons that paraded at the funerals? When the crowd realised that there was a women's platoon, they cheered. How

much more may they have cheered, had the platoons included whites? What powerful message would it have sent to the whole of South Africa to see a non-racial MK?

Consultancy for the National Housing Forum, drafting a funding document for the EC or the analysis of a World Bank report on education could wait another day while the "white left" joined the thousands of other South Africans who thronged into the streets of the cities of South Africa to express their anger and sorrow at the death of Chris Hani.

Being on the streets, fearing and sharing with the masses of our people can powerfully reaffirm commitment to the ideals of economic and political liberation that we have committed the large part of our lives to.

Paper Views Clinton Administration Performance

*MB2406142593 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
24 Jun 93 p 18*

[Article by Peter Fabricius in Washington]

[Text] How's Clinton doing?

The answer, obviously, is awfully. He's been staggering from one public relations disaster to another—the "nannygate" fiasco, where several successive Attorney-General candidates were disqualified for failing to pay social security for domestics; the gays in the military controversy; the failure of his jobs stimulus Bill; the notorious \$200 (R[and]660) haircut; the firing of the White House travel staff; the Lani Guinier affair; the kowtowing to Europe over Bosnian intervention ...

All of this is reflected in the polls, which record a free-fall to about 36 percent public approval—a record low for a U.S. president at this stage of his tenure, at least since the war.

Americans seem embarrassed by failure and their way of dealing with it is to stamp it out so that it goes away. One now gets a sense from the press here that Clinton has become a political leper whom no one wishes to be associated with for fear of contagion.

His voters have largely deserted him, his press (so adoring a few months ago) has deserted him, much of his party seems to have deserted him.

And yet, and yet ... If you stop a moment to weigh up his successes and failures, giving each its proper importance (how much does a haircut weigh in the greater scheme of things?) you may well find that the scales come down on the plus side.

Though they have been largely drowned out, Clinton has doggedly pushed through a fairly impressive list of domestic policies in his first 150 days of office.

He has probably laid down more domestic policy at this point in his tenure than any of his immediate predecessors. Furthermore, this is far-reaching policy which is likely to affect America fundamentally for some time to come.

These are some of the things he has done:

- Passed through Senate a campaign finance bill that will substantially curb the power of the big-money lobbyists and special-interest groups which dominate Washington politics.
- Allocated \$4.5 billion (R14.8 billion) of incentives to businesses to move to 110 deprived "empowerment" zones around the country—if they create jobs.
- Made real headway in reducing the deficit—the linchpin of his presidency. He claims his budget will reduce America's \$1.3 trillion (R4.3 trillion) deficit by \$500 billion (R1,650 billion) over five years.

Clinton says about half of the deficit is to come from tax increases, largely on the rich. At the other end of the scale, he has also made headway with his Earned Income Tax Credit for the working poor. It is aimed at ensuring that no-one who does an honest day's work need live below the poverty datum line. Another aim is to save the country money by discouraging low-paid workers from going on the dole.

- Clinton has rapidly dismantled the anti-abortion policies of his predecessor, including tough measures that prohibited U.S. aid to any international organisation that even discussed abortion.
- He has pushed through family leave legislation to allow employees up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave annually for the birth or adoption of a child, the care of a sick spouse, parent or child.
- Though shredded by Congress, his national service plan could still put 100,000 students through university by 1997 in exchange for community service.
- Clinton is also endeavouring to equalise opportunities in the military by allowing homosexuals to serve and expanding the role of women into combat positions.

Very few of these ambitions have been fully realised yet. Nearly all have suffered compromises to secure passage.

The commentary here has focussed heavily on the compromises and concessions while largely ignoring the substantial progress.

Clinton's failures are in part a result of being measured against larger goals. None of his immediate predecessors dared tackle the ominous deficit. Nor did they confront the only realistic remedy—substantial tax increases and spending cuts.

From that perspective, Clinton's woes are those of any reformer meeting resistance from the system he is trying

to reform. He is challenging the most powerful myth of America, that no government is good government.

Of course, he has greatly compounded his problems by some ineptitude, inexperience, poor or very slow appointments (a dozen or so key positions are still not filled), indecision, vacillation and bad staff and press management.

These failings taken together suggest a character which many, perhaps most, Americans would regard as "unpresidential"—an epithet often heard about him now.

Perhaps he is too light for the job. Or perhaps the American public has written a part too tough for their presidents to fill. In the end, of course, it might not matter whether his public image is fair or unfair.

The public's first impressions of him may be so ingrained that there is little he can do to change them before re-election time.

But it will be tragic if he fails purely on an image problem despite laying down solid policy.

Under the able instruction of former Republican presidential adviser David Gergen he is beginning to improve his image, wooing the press and concentrating on broad policy goals, such as reducing the deficit.

By not committing himself to detailed objectives which might have to be abandoned (as he did at first) he is now being perceived as suffering fewer failures. His best hope is that his deficit reduction and other measures help to turn the economy around by 1996.

Growth and rising employment will do much to erase the nightmare memories of early 1993.

He deserves more of a break than he is getting now. Unlike some of his immediate predecessors, he is an energetic, busy, intelligent (although not yet always wise) president who seems serious about what he is doing.

And he is resilient. Don't write him off yet. He may just bounce back.

* Armed Forces Integration Process Discussed

93AF0629A Cape Town *DIE SUID-AFRIKAAN* in Afrikaans May/Jun 93 pp 5, 6, 8

[Article by Chris Louw: "Toward the Interim Government: Joint Command for SADF (South African Defense Force) and MK (Spear of the Nation)?"]

[Text] Until recently they were still sworn enemies. The South African Army struck out ruthlessly across the border and wiped out ANC [African National Congress] training camps. Scores of innocent people were caught in the cross fire and killed. At the same time, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) [Spear of the Nation], the armed branch of the ANC, declared every uniformed soldier in South Africa a legitimate target. The Pretoria bomb that

claimed 18 lives in the mideighties was also deliberately planted in a military building in Church Street.

But while their armed supporters still glare at one another, the South African Government and the political leaders of the ANC now sit around the negotiating table at the World Trade Center in Kemptonpark, trying to come to terms regarding a democratic constitution for the nation. Soon—more than likely before the end of May—an Interim Executive Council will be brought into existence by the Multiparty Negotiating Forum, to serve as a board of advisers for the cabinet. In practice, this means that the country will be governed by a “rudimentary” form of “power sharing,” with the negotiating partners on an equal footing with the cabinet, if the ANC has its way.

Although this may be the first small step on the road to democracy (a representative legislative assembly will be democratically elected about the middle of next year), this nonetheless means that the most important leaders in the land have found a way to reach out to one another. But what about the nation’s armed forces, who only yesterday were sworn enemies? Is it possible for people who, for the most part, got to know one another through the sights of AK47s or R4s, to join together into a single force, a force with a single system of values and identical goals?

To complicate matters, the four TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] armies and the South African Defense Force (SADF)—together with the anticipated reannexation of the so-called independent nations in South Africa—will have to be coordinated into a single power. Although these forces have drifted apart over the years and have defended different interests, they are the “children of the same mother,” to quote political consultant Harald Pakendorf. In the main, it is the SADF that has provided the training, and it does not seem that it will be too difficult to bring them together into a single force.

Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Azanian People’s Liberation Army (APLA) of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) are horses of another color, however. APLA, for example, has not yet endorsed the National Peace Agreement and still maintains “armed struggle” as its goal. But the most important participants are the SADF and the MK. The extent of the difficulty we shall experience in fostering the growth of a single loyalty to South Africa among forces with such divergent creeds as the SADF and the MK was clearly evidenced recently when Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel, for no particular reason and without listening to anyone’s arguments, rejected all possibilities of integration. Referring to recent murders of whites, he remarked that the MK has a weak leadership, possesses illegal weapons, and is nothing more than a bunch of criminals.

A senior MK spokesperson, Tokyo Sexwale, replied in equally strong terms. He said that the training of the MK forces differs drastically from that of the SADF, but that

is because the circumstances in which they fought were so different. In every instance the MK has its legitimacy as a freedom army from the people, something the SADF, as an “apartheid army,” does not have.

To reconcile the two viewpoints is one of the greatest challenges the multiparty conference will have to face in coming months.

The partition of the country into political regions is a stumblingblock of the same order. In this case there was already agreement on a solution, when it was determined that the multiparty conference would lay down simple principles—such as demographic considerations, economic self-support, administrative powers—and that a delimitation commission consisting of knowledgeable people would ultimately make the final recommendations concerning the borders of the regions.

In the case of a joint army, no decision has yet been made on the particulars. There is every indication that it will be much more difficult to put together a panel of experts who enjoy the trust of all the parties involved at the World Trade Center.

The fact is that a future army is an even more emotional topic than that of the political determination of regions, particularly insofar as the two chief players in the negotiating process are concerned. On the one side the government sees integration simply as a method to gain control over the deserters from, and the undisciplined members of, the MK; and on the other, the ANC has serious misgivings about the favoritism that is rampant in the SADF, especially in the time period before the elections. How can this dilemma be avoided? In recent months military experts across the entire political spectrum have begun to focus their attention on the problem. And it looks as if a growing consensus is developing, at least among independent experts, even if the political leaders are already prematurely bogged down in their election rhetoric.

So the military commentator, Dr. Jakkie Cilliers, codirector of the Institute for Defense Policy, together with his fellow researcher, Paul-Bolko Mertz, has done a thorough study of earlier CODESA [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] proposals, and has come to the conclusion that the problem of integrating the nation’s armed forces is not unsurmountable.

What is necessary is to approach the matter step by step. And the first step is to establish a form of joint control over the Army. This means simply that the Department of Defense surrenders its control and that a Multiparty Defense Committee [MPDC] takes control.

Integration, says Cilliers, “and this means in actual practice as well,” will first happen under the supervision of an elected Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU)—in other words, after the first elections. For integration to happen, what is needed first is one or other form of joint or multiparty control over the armed forces.

In practice this means that control structures must be established as soon as possible, to replace the existing structures. These structures will have to be based on decisions taken by the two CODESAs. (As agreed, the CODESA decisions will form the basis of the new negotiations that were resumed in April).

To understand the role of these structures, one must first look at the composition of the Interim Executive Council, better known as the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), on which agreement was reached at the two CODESAs. All indications are that the structures were already accepted by the new parties at the negotiating forum, with the exception of the Conservative Party.

The TEC will be a kind of extraparlimentary cabinet, assisted by at least four and possibly five subcouncils, which include regional and local government, finance, law and order, and defense. (Foreign affairs may come under a possible fifth subcouncil, but no final decision has been made in this regard.) The subcouncils will manage their "portfolios" in cooperation with their counterparts among the government ministers.

Cilliers and Mertz make the point that the goals of integrating the armed forces must include gaining acceptance for the concept of the "Citizen in Uniform" in a new army, argue Cilliers and Mertz. The concept is inherent in the armies of democratic countries. This considers soldiers to be military professionals, yet maintains that they can think and act independently, that they are responsible citizens of their country, recognizing democratic values and individual freedoms and rights, and are therefore ready to defend these values in uniform.

The key structures in attaining this goal, they argue, in a proposal that has been presented to all the interested parties at Kemptonpark, are meant to bring political control and consultative expertise into the process.

Political control can be exercised by a Multiparty Defense Committee (MPDC), and consultative expertise can be supplied by a Defense Council (DC). Both authorities will be considered as substructures under the Defense Subcouncil (MPDS-C).

The MPDC will serve as the precursor to a parliamentary defense committee in a new dispensation. "It must be a visible structure, a symbol of political control over the armed forces, with political accountability," Cillier's proposal states. He expects that the minister of defense or his assistant will serve on the TEC and will also have a seat on the MPDC.

The Department of Defense, for its part, will most likely form the secretariat of the MPDC. "The MPDC will exercise policy control over the armed forces, just as the existing Department of Defense does over the South African Defense Force (SADF)," says Cilliers.

In exchange for the government's surrender of unilateral control over the SADF, parties such as the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party will agree to cooperate. The ANC will also have to restore its control over the MK troops, who now carry out acts of uncontrolled terrorism in the townships.

The second key structure is the DC, which is essentially a nonpolitical body of experts. The DC will have the task of making recommendations concerning the composition and creation of structures and processes, including the integration of the forces.

Structures that are currently being discussed in military circles include an office for a military ombudsman, the creation of a kind of joint council for the armed forces, to help with the integration process, and the creation of an advisory council on race relationships and citizen training. The DC, Cilliers and Mertz propose, must be set up in terms of Article 73 of the Defense Law in logical coherence with the establishment of the MPDS-C.

The job of the DC, among other things, will be to handle recommendations to the MPDC, in order to define "a concept" for armed forces in a democratic society, to make reports to the ombudsman, and also to train and reorient from scratch the members of a future army. The reorientation of all soldiers, regardless of their background, is a most important aspect of the proposal of Cilliers and Mertz. It includes the establishment of a code of behavior and an oath of allegiance to a democratic constitution, to be sworn by all military personnel.

The first step, however, is that of joint control over the armed forces. "Joint control over the SADF, control over the MK, and a nonpartisan security force during the first nonracial elections in South Africa, are all part of the same problem," says Cilliers. "There can be no progress in this matter before it is clear what the powers and the role of the Interim Executive Structures are."

It is already clear, however, that the powers and the role of the Interim Executive Structures will make for sticky debates. The ANC wants to see the TEC rule the nation jointly with the present cabinet, so that the "playing field can be made even" in the preparations for the nation's first democratic elections. The government, on the other hand, is getting its back up. In an address given in parliament on 29 March, Roelf Meyer, the minister of Constitutional Development, made it clear that particulars concerning the Interim Executive Council "still require urgent negotiations. We have not reached the end of the road," he said. "This is only the beginning. We are now at the starting blocks."

There is no doubt but that a prolonged debate will seriously influence the question of integrating the armed forces. This means in the first place that there is no chance for the integration to take place before the establishment of a Government of National Unity next year. At the same time, growing numbers of MK members, with easy access to weapons, are becoming frustrated with the slow pace of the negotiation process.

They have come back from abroad to a situation where there is no work for them and no escape. Armed crimes have already become an everyday phenomenon.

In private talks, ANC leaders and government spokespersons appear to be aware of the seriousness of the problem. The relative ease with which an agreement was reached on the notion of an independent delimitation commission for regional government and on a panel that has as its task to see to the establishment of a new independent council for the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] allows us to hope that the army conflict can also be settled. Likewise it is clear that the proposals of Mertz and Cilliers enjoy serious consideration among the supporters of the National Peace Agreement.

"What must now be done," says Cilliers, "is to bring divergent forces in the country under central control and to take inventory of their powers. This will form a sound basis for the evaluation of future options."

At the same time, he believes the high level of armed violence excludes all possibility of restricting the SADF to its bases. "In the light of the fact that the ANC will very likely not accept the unilateral deployment of the Army in the period of time before the elections, there remains only one option—full and solid multiparty control as soon as possible."

Joint control must be complemented by increasing the ranks and the appropriate deployment of qualified international observers who have access to all the aspects of command and control related to the restructuring and future functioning of the military forces. This is the only way to assure a stable defense force in a democratic South Africa.

This is also the only way to transform the nation's armed forces into a single entity which, in the words of the Goldstone Commission, "will enjoy the confidence and the cooperation of the ordinary citizen of South Africa."

* Afrikaans Speakers: Breakdown by Race

93AF0629B Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans
D 6 May 93 p d9

[Article by Dr. Karel Prinsloo, chief of Sociocultural Research at the HSRC (Human Sciences Research Council): "5.7 Million Speak Afrikaans at Home"]

[Text] Afrikaans is the home language of more than 18.5 percent of the total population of 30.9 million. About half of the population—excluding the TBVC regions, because the census was not conducted there—said in 1991 that they could speak, read, and write Afrikaans, another 3.9 million indicated that they could only speak Afrikaans, while 0.9 million said that they could only read and write it.

Even if the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] regions soon become part of a new South Africa, the 5.7-million Afrikaans speakers remain a considerable group. In a new dispensation this will emphasize all the more, according to expectations, that Afrikaans speakers are one of the several language groups in the country.

Afrikaans is a valuable bridge between the various population groups. The most recent census shows that 2.9 million whites, 2.7 million coloreds, 88,000 blacks, and 13,000 Asians use Afrikaans as a language in their homes. Many more, namely 4.4 million whites (87 percent), 3.2 million coloreds (96 percent), 7.3 million blacks (34 percent), and 337,000 Asians (34 percent) can speak, read, and/or write Afrikaans.

There is a good deal of room for the advancement of literacy among those who say that they can speak Afrikaans, but neither read nor write it. Of the 15.2 million people who, according to the census, use Afrikaans, 20 percent (3.9 million) can only speak this language, but in the case of English, which has 15 million users, only 10 percent cannot also read and/or write it.

Angola

Evacuees Diverted to Luanda Despite UNITA Opposition

LD2406112693 Lisbon Radio Renascenca in Portuguese to Europe 1030 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Excerpts] A plane carrying the first group of Portuguese evacuees from Huambo is now on its way to Sao Tome, after a change of plan forced the original flight to land at Luanda airport, allegedly for technical reasons. The flight is expected in Sao Tome in about two hours.

The report has already been confirmed by the Portuguese authorities. A technical fault forced the Transafrik plane that picked up the first group of Portuguese in Huambo to divert to Luanda where they were transferred to another plane which has been taken off and is due in Sao Tome at 1140 hours local time. It is carrying 104 Portuguese nationals. [passage omitted].

The International Red Cross has assured the Portuguese Foreign Ministry that the flight diversion will in no way change the evacuation plan. [passage omitted] With us in the studio is African affairs specialist Antonio Pacheco.

[Pacheco] [passage omitted] The demand by UNITA [The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] that there should be no stop-over in Luanda has not been met. Someone has defaulted on the agreement. It was known that Luanda had demanded such a stop-over, as a way to assert its sovereignty. The consequences may be serious and the Lisbon and Luanda governments must be prepared. [passage omitted]

Aircraft Reportedly Missing

MB2406133393 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 1200 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Contrary to what had been agreed upon, the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] aircraft carrying Portuguese nationals to Sao Tome and Principe has been deviated by the Futungo de Belas authorities. The Sao Tomean Airport control tower has lost contact with the aircraft which was scheduled to arrive in that country's airport at 1100 hours local time [1000 GMT], 1200 hours in Angola, and 1300 hours in Portugal. The report has been confirmed by Carlos Teixeira, RDP Portuguese Radio correspondent in Sao Tomean and Principe.

[Begin Teixeira recording] The latest reports from the capital of Sao Tome are that the first ICRC aircraft which was to carry the Portuguese citizens from Huambo to Sao Tome was diverted from its route and may possibly have landed in Luanda. This was confirmed by Sao Tomean Airport's control tower which did not give details on the destination of the aircraft [words indistinct]. The Sao Tomean Government has created a commission led by the minister of social equipment and environment, who has been charged with receiving those refugees. The Sao Tome and Principe Red Cross, which

has been in permanent contact with the regional delegation of the Red Cross for Africa, has mobilized all its personnel with medical teams for the Sao Tomean airport, where, according to what had been scheduled, the aircraft was supposed to land around 1100 local time. But both the Sao Tomean Red Cross and the Portuguese Air Force delegations maintain that the aircraft would arrive at the planned time as they do not have any confirmation that it has been diverted. [end recording]

ICRC Reports 120 Evacuated

LD2406177593 Bern Swiss Radio International in English 1700 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] The International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] has evacuated 120 people from Angola. An ICRC spokesman said a plane load of Portuguese and Brazilian citizens were flown to Sao Tome and Principe from Huambo that is under control of the rebel UNITA movement. More than 500 foreigners, mainly from Portugal, are believed to be trapped in Huambo that was captured in March by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] after two months of heavy fighting.

Portuguese Official Comments

MB2506060693 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] A few moments ago, Antonio Monteiro, Portuguese ambassador to the Joint Political and Military Commission, has expressed his joy over the evacuation of the first group of Portuguese citizens from Huambo.

[Begin Monteiro recording] We are very happy. All countries of the troika of observers, particularly Portugal, are happy with this news. As I have always said, every government, particularly the Portuguese Government, has the duty to take care of its citizens. Accordingly, we are very happy. We are happy in that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola fulfilled the established program, allowing the departure of this first flight.

As you are also aware, due to a technical fault, the plane which was supposed to make a direct flight to Sao Tome and Principe had to land in Luanda and another flight had to leave for Sao Tome and Principe, and this affected the realization of the second flight that had been programmed. All the same, it is our hope that this flight will take place as soon as possible so that all those people who want to leave Huambo can do so. We rely therefore on the work of the International Committee of the Red Cross and we hope that the flight will take place as soon as possible so that our joy can be complete. [end recording]

UNITA Bans Further Portuguese National Evacuation Flights

LD2406200293 Lisbon RTP Internacional Television in Portuguese 1800 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Excerpts] The second evacuation flight out of Huambo has been postponed and we do not know until when. The first flight to Sao Tome had an unscheduled stopover. The plane landed in Luanda, allegedly due to a technical problem, thus disrespecting UNITA's [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] wish that did not want to see the refugees land in the Angolan capital. UNITA has been irritated with this and now wants a very good explanation for what happened:

[Unidentified correspondent] This was an unforeseen stopover. The pilot of the Hercules C-130 claimed a malfunction in one of the plane's engines and had an emergency landing at Luanda. The Angolan police turned up, surrounded the aircraft and set up a security cordon. Two buses were called and the Portuguese nationals were then allowed to leave the Hercules and transferred to another aircraft hired by the Red Cross. This was a Boeing 727 that departed to Sao Tome soon after. The whole transfer operation lasted nearly two hours.

In Sao Tome, the Red Cross representative in Angola explained the incident:

[Begin Christophe Harnische recording] There was a technical problem with the Hercules C-130 engine, I am not qualified to tell you what the real problem was, but the technical stopover was necessary so the operation could carry on normally. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Due to the delay, the Red Cross postponed the second expected flight to Huambo hoping to be able to carry on with it tomorrow.

But UNITA wants further explanations. Radio Vorgan [UNITA's Voice of the Black Cockerel] said moments ago, that there will not be any further flights until the incident is duly explained.

However, the Portuguese Government hopes the evacuation of all Portuguese nationals wanting to leave Huambo will be concluded soon. The cabinet of the secretary of state for cooperation, Biosa e Gala, underlined that responsibility for the operation lies with the International Red Cross. [passage omitted]

Moose Comments on Humanitarian, Democratic Assistance

MB2406162393 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] The United States will assist the Angolan Government in consolidating the democratic institutions resulting from the elections held in September last year. What is more, the U.S. Government will do all it can so that peace may be reestablished in the near future. This

was reiterated in a press communique distributed shortly before the departure of George Moose, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, this morning. Alves Fernandes reports:

[Fernandes] In a communique distributed to the press at the airport, the U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs expressed his gratitude for the warmth and hospitality accorded by the Angolan Government and people. George Moose lamented the fact that the humanitarian assistance program was suspended 24 hours after it began and said he hoped it will be resumed as soon as possible, within the conditions established by the United Nations. The U.S. official condemned the current war in the country. Expressing his concern over the situation of foreigners taken hostage in Huambo, he called on the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] to show signs of good faith by releasing unconditionally all those who want to be repatriated. According to the communique, Moose expressed his total confidence in the elected Government of Angola.

[Begin recording] [Moose, in English fading into Portuguese translation] Looking at the present situation in Angola, we see there are many people affected by the war. There are many displaced people. Our biggest priority is to render humanitarian assistance. We would also like to help consolidate the democratic institutions here in Angola and thus create conditions so that there can be stability and reconciliation. These are our immediate priorities.

[Fernandes] Now that the Abidjan talks have failed, what else will the United States do so that the government and UNITA can return to the negotiating table?

[Moose] I would not use the term failure. I would only say disappointment, because UNITA did not want to sign the Abidjan protocol. All the same, UNITA says it is willing to resume talks with the government and it is our hope that they will do so. I think some work must be done before the beginning of the next round of talks, but at the present time, we are very concerned with the problem of humanitarian assistance, as well as with the continued obstacles the UN is facing. We hope something will be done very soon. We are also very concerned with the continued postponement of the release of foreigners detained in Huambo. We hope UNITA will make it possible as soon as possible for those who want to leave Huambo to do so.

[Fernandes] Do you hope to meet with Dr. Savimbi or any other UNITA leader during the next few days?

[Moose] We continue to maintain contacts with UNITA, and I would meet with Dr. Savimbi under the appropriate circumstances.

[Fernandes] I also asked Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Joao Miranda what the Angolan Government expects from the United States in the near future.

[Miranda] First, the United States should have a greater commitment toward defending democracy in Angola. That is very important. You know that for many years the United States has been UNITA's main supporter. Following the holding of the first general elections in Angola, which were free and fair, the United States should defend interests or rules which govern international relations between states, particularly considering that it is a defender of democracy and we are a democratic state. [end recording]

Prime Minister Moco Addresses National Economy Meeting

MB2406175893 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Addressing the meeting on the national economy at the palace of congresses here today, Prime Minister Marcolino Moco said:

[Begin Moco recording] The truth is that there is no prescribed formula to fight economic ills. Whereas it is true that the present situation does not favor us to make definite steps toward stabilization, it is also true that there is a need for us to jointly examine the situation in depth in order to draw up our development strategy under the market economy. I am fully convinced that although our debate is open and frank, with all the pragmatism that is demanded of us at the present period [words indistinct] of the Angolan state. We are facing a critical situation and there is a need for us to resolve as soon as possible the most burning problems facing our country. [end recording] [passage omitted]

UNITA Delegation Leaves Paris for Rome

MB2406113093 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 0600 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] delegation, which is carrying out a diplomatic offensive through Europe, yesterday left the French capital for Rome, where it is to hold talks with the Vatican until tomorrow. From Rome the delegation will return to Paris. In an interview with Radio France in Paris yesterday, UNITA chief negotiator Dr. Jorge Alicerces Valentim briefly spoke about his tour.

[Begin Valentim recording] The UNITA delegation's six-day stay in Paris was very fruitful because our delegation held talks with all figures who influence French policy on Africa, particularly on Angola both at political and socioeconomic levels. We can say that the talks were positive, since UNITA's viewpoint was listened to attentively. We held serious democratic discussions, and there are signs that something could be done in the interest of peace, national reconciliation and security for all Angolans. [end recording]

Meanwhile, journalists asked the UNITA diplomat what George Moose's visit exclusively to Luanda meant.

[Begin Valentim recording] The U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs will not have a clear idea of the Angolan problem. He went to Luanda, where he opened a U.S. embassy [word indistinct]. He should also have gone to Huambo, since visiting Huambo would not mean that he would be recognizing another government, but this is the Angolan reality. [words indistinct] the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] government and those who, for their survival, resist it with real democracy for the national coexistence are in Huambo. [end recording]

One of Jorge Valentim's last steps during his stay in Paris was meeting with Malian diplomat (Allyoum Blondan Baye), who replaces Margaret Anstee, and the meeting was fruitful.

[Begin Valentim recording] Yesterday we had the privilege of being together in Paris. Mr. (Baye) met with the UNITA delegation and it was a very fruitful meeting. We had the opportunity of presenting our point of view, our assessment of the Angolan situation, and he is on his way to Luanda, where he is to hold talks with the MPLA government. He will then leave for Huambo, and we hope there will be no obstacles [words indistinct] Mr. (Baye), the person who was chosen to assist in solving the Angolan problem. [words indistinct] in a more acceptable and even-handed way, and indeed in a [word indistinct] position. [end recording]

UNITA Receive Arms From S. Africa, Ukraine, Bulgaria

MB2406115593 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 23 Jun 93 p 13

[Report by Garner Thomson]

[Text] London—UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] appears still to be receiving arms from South Africa, as well as from the Ukraine and Bulgaria, a Catholic Institute for International Relations [CIIR] briefing paper claims.

Many of the shipments transit through Bophuthatswana, while both the rebels and the Angola government are active in the mercenary market in South Africa and Europe, looking for recruits, it adds.

UNITA's refusal to accept the results of the country's general election has placed the government under severe pressure.

The paper claims that the rebels' objective of gaining control of strategic areas outside Luanda means it now controls two-thirds of the country.

And, while the government retains a presence in the towns of Malanje, Menongue and pockets around Kuito and Lueno, with control of a sizable coastal strip just north of Luanda to the Cunene River border with Namibia, UNITA's cutting off of the cities from the

countryside has turned many provincial capitals into "islands of government control in a sea of UNITA domination".

The CIIR says UNITA's overall strategy is to control all areas outside Luanda and to bring the economy to a standstill, creaming off assets—especially diamonds and oil—to fund further conflict with the government and strengthen its own hand in negotiations.

Reports indicate that both sides have engaged in killings and intimidation of people, especially if they were not from the local ethnic group, the paper continues.

Humanitarian agencies estimate that at least 40,000 people have been killed and tens of thousands injured since the polls closed on September 30.

Meanwhile, the Organisation of African Unity Foreign Ministers' meeting in Cairo this week accused UNITA of seeking to sabotage peace bids.

Information Minister Denies Air Force Bombed Huambo

LD2406215693 Lisbon RTP Internacional Television in Portuguese 1800 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] The Angolan Minister of Information is in Lisbon. Hendrik Vaal Neto denied the involvement of the Angolan Air Force in bombing Huambo:

[Begin Hendrik Vaal Neto recording] In reality, there never were any strikes by the Angolan Air Force on Huambo. There were control and patrol operations which, obviously, went on for a while. The fact is that at the time we were accused of bombing Huambo, our Air Force was not even operational. There were some training flights and, as I said, patrol flights. [end recording]

FALA Gives FAPLA 'Bitter Lessons' in Lunda Norte

MB2406190993 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 1200 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] The patriotic and revolutionary Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] on the Dundo front in Lunda Norte Province have already begun to give bitter lessons to the Portuguese and Katangese mercenaries and special commandos of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] sent by the leaders of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola at the Futungo de Belas to reoccupy diamond mines under the control of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. On 22 June, the red berets [word indistinct] the two battalions made up of Portuguese and Katangese mercenaries and FAPLA special commandos, trying to reoccupy the Chingufo mine [words indistinct] one Katangese and captured others, as well as two AK-47 weapons and 44 rounds of ammunition. [Words indistinct] Jose Antonio, aged 25, born in Mexico, captured by the red berets on the Dundo front,

has revealed that besides wanting to reoccupy the diamond mines, the MPLA also intends to reoccupy the [word indistinct] commune for a passage to Canfunfo where Portuguese mercenaries have been stationed.

UNITA Activities in Huila Province Reported

MB2306175993 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 1200 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] The strategic area of Toco, on the outskirts of the city of Lubango in Huila Province, continues to be heroically defended by the red berets of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. During this second half of June, a fourth attempt by a special battalion of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] to occupy the area was thwarted by the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA]. During the clashes 19 soldiers belonging to Eduardo dos Santos [words indistinct] captured. The remaining FAPLA troops fled in disarray to Lubango, carrying with them dozens of wounded comrades. During the same period, 22 MPLA-PT [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] soldiers were killed by our forces in another clash which took place 16 km east of the city of Lubango along the road linking this city to [Chipia] area [words indistinct].

German Humanitarian Group Aids in Demining Process

MB2306131593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0007 GMT 23 Jun 93

[By Jonathon Rees]

[Text] Windhoek June 23 SAPA—In a radical bid at preventative healthcare, a German humanitarian outfit is destroying thousands of landmines in southern Angola and turning minefields over to maize for the war-weary local population.

Cap Anamur has blown up 35,000 mines since it started its Angolan operation about a year ago, averaging several thousand a month, according to Project Manager Hendrik Ehlers.

Operating under the loose banner "Radical Humanitarianism, Radical Pacifism, Radical Neutrality", Cap Anamur is devoted to turning back the build-up of lethal munitions.

Decades of Angolan war have left behind an estimated 20 million landmines and a living amputee population estimated at 55,000, reputedly the highest in the world.

Interviewed in Windhoek en route from his Xangongo base to Germany and Brazil, Ehlers says the work satisfies the humanitarian ideals of the team of four Germans. "It is great to see mealies grow again where once there were only mines."

Cap Anamur has operations in 15 countries, including Somalia, Siberia, and the former Yugoslavia where 400

former East German rail trucks serve as refuge and abortion clinics for women who have been raped.

The mine-clearing initiative stems from a nurse losing her legs to a Somali mine.

"We decided not to wait for victims of war, but to take on de-mining as a medical activity. It is a radical form of preventative healthcare," Ehlers says.

Cap Anamur scorns the overwhelming bureaucracy common to many of its counterparts: it is administered from a German apartment with a single fax machine and half-day secretary. According to Ehlers funds raised from the German public go straight into work on the ground.

The Angolan project began with plans to drive over mines in tanks made available by East German disarmament. Seven tanks and 30 trucks were painted white and shipped to Angola, but anti-tank mines cost a life and pushed up maintenance costs.

Now the team does forays into minefields with sappers from the local military—on one occasion from rival factions. The uprooted mines are destroyed at noon each day, in a blast Ehlers says can be heard 150km away.

Among the Xangongo team is Uwe Silge, known fondly as "professor bomb", a former East German military officer with specialist training in mines and munitions.

Besides minefields, Cap Anamur also clears roads and paths, some of which have not been used for years. Most difficult are random mines laid around villages, in fields and on riverside paths.

Ehlers speaks of developing a sixth sense and learning to second-guess the soldier who planted his deadly weapon.

The team also inspects and clears decayed and unguarded ammunition depots, where looters have taken valuable brass shells and dumped their contents. One depot had five tons of raw explosives lying loose on the ground, posing enormous risk to the local population.

In what Ehlers calls a small political victory, Namibian authorities have been persuaded to amend an import law to stop the trading of empty shells without proof their contents are secured.

Cap Anamur's trucks are widely used to deliver food, medicine and educational material, and the team has organised a pontoon bridge which saves supply routes to Lubango. It also runs the only functioning workshop for 500km.

A nurse who arrived to support the demining team now runs her own clinic for 70,000 people. And during the worst stages of a drought last year, Cap Anamur tankers drove day and night while workers built water pumps and a dam.

The group has struck a deal with Kunene Governor Pedro Mutinde which allows them to clear mines, seen

by some as removing the government's military capacity, in exchange for logistical support.

Although Cap Anamur claims a 95 per cent success rate, Ehlers acknowledges the danger of sloppy de-mining, which leaves behind a dangerously false sense of security.

Many of the minefields are marked by civilians, but many are marked wrong. And in places where mines previously exploded, shrapnel plays havoc with metal detectors. Additional danger is found in the booby trap—a second or third mine designed to kill as the first device is lifted.

Ehlers describes the tragi-comic adaptation to war he has witnessed during a year in Kunene: among examples are villagers using live 155mm shells as cattle fences and outdoor furniture. Nevertheless, isolated mines still claim victims almost daily.

Ehlers and his team enjoy their work, poorly paid but challenging. It meets their radical humanitarian ideals.

"One thing we never forget though," he says with a wry smile. "In Portuguese they say mina mata—mines kill."

Mozambique

Moose Arrives in Manica, To Meet Renamo's Dhlakama

MB2406112693 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] This morning George Moose, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, left the city of Chimoio for Maringue, Sofala Province, where he will meet Afonso Dhlakama, leader of the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo]. Moose, who arrived in the capital of Manica Province about 0813 hours [0613 GMT] was received by Manica Province Governor Artur Canana. In the audience, the governor said there have been incidents in the province as Renamo has been hindering the transportation of agricultural products in areas under its control. However, he said, until now there have been no actions of violence between government and Renamo forces after the General Peace Accord was signed last year. On the repatriation of Mozambican refugees from neighboring countries, the Manica governor informed the U.S. official that until now the province has received about 30,000 people from Malawi and Zimbabwe, most of whom resettled in urban areas since in some cases they cannot leave for their homes as the roads are still mined. In his trip to Maringue, George Moose is accompanied by the U.S. ambassador to Maputo and two assistants of the special representative of the UN secretary general in Mozambique.

Renamo's Dhlakama To Meet President Chissano 17 Jul

MB2406105593 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Afonso Dhlakama, leader of the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo], has said he will leave for Maputo on 17 July to meet President Chissano. In an interview with NOTICIAS newspaper's correspondent in Washington, Dhlakama said 17 July has been definitely accepted as the date for the meeting with President Chissano in Maputo. Dhlakama has confirmed to the reporter that Italian Foreign Minister Beniamino Andreatta [name and title as heard] had suggested a transitional government in Mozambique. The Renamo leader said that after meeting President Chissano he will visit all provincial capitals to show the people that the war has ended in the country.

Renamo Reportedly Occupies 3 Areas in Tete Province

MB2306180693 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1400 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] The Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] occupied three areas in Tete Province between April and May this year, thus violating the General Peace Accord signed in Rome. Tete Provincial Governor Cadmiel Muthemba said Renamo elements infiltrated (Gondalo) area in Macanga District on 3 May, where they intimidated the residents and expelled the chairman of the local assembly, replacing him with a traditional chief.

In Moatize District, Renamo occupied the areas of (Micungas) and Samoa. In Samoa, Renamo elements seized Frelimo membership cards and forced all residents to receive Renamo membership cards.

Cadmiel Muthemba also said that Renamo elements threatened to arrest officials sent by the provincial government to negotiate with Afonso Dhlakama's men, following the occupation of the areas.

What is more, in Doa, Mutarara District, also in Tete Province, Renamo elements paralyzed the reparation of the road linking the district to the provincial capital, having forced the Ekimebe Company workers to open a new road to an area controlled by Renamo. Later, Renamo elements said they impounded the company's equipment thinking it belonged to the World Vision Organization.

Government Troops Demobilized in Gaza Province

MB2306184393 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] About 1,000 government soldiers were demobilized in Gaza Province, southern Mozambique, between 15 and 21 June. These soldiers were stationed in the Districts of Chibuto, Chokwe, and Chicualacuala. One of the ceremonies to mark the demobilization of the

soldiers took place at Macia barracks and was attended by officials from the UN Operations in Mozambique and the International Migration Organization.

Swaziland**Government Denies Opposition Official Passport**

MB2506100993 Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 25 Jun 93 pp 1, 40

[Report by Bhekie Matsebula]

[Text] Government has refused to grant a passport to the President of the Swaziland National Front (Swanafro), Mr Elmond Mbho Shongwe to attend a "political" meeting in Tanzania.

Mr Shongwe said yesterday he was informed of this by the acting Principal Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Mr Tars Makama.

The conference in Arusha is to discuss and make a survey on the problems of political parties in the transition to multiparty democracy in east and Southern Africa.

It is being organised by the East and Southern African Universities Research Programme.

It starts tomorrow until Monday.

Mr Makama confirmed yesterday that he could not grant Mr Shongwe the passport for reasons known to government.

"The passport is a government property and a privilege to those who get it. We can grant it to anybody who wants it, at our own will," said Mr Makama.

Mr Shongwe said he made the application for the passport sometime back and when he went to check on Wednesday whether it had been processed, he was told by the immigration officer that his application had been rejected by the authorities within the Home Affairs Ministry.

He said he went to find out from the Chief Immigration Officer, Mr Ephraem Magagula why his application for the passport had been turned down.

Mr Shongwe said Mr Magagula directed him to the acting Principal Secretary, Mr Tars Makama who told him that government can not grant him the passport because he was going to attend a political meeting.

"When I said I was not going to attend a political meeting but a conference that will be researching on political parties in the transition to multi-party democracy in the region in which Swaziland is a member, Mr Makama was adamant," Mr Shongwe said.

Mr Shongwe said he then contacted the Prime Minister's (PM) office and had audience with Mr Sicelo Dlamini, the PM's private secretary, who said there was nothing wrong about his going to Tanzania to attend the political conference.

He said he is thinking of taking the immigration office to the High Court to explain why he should not be given the passport.

The conference in question has been organized by the Eastern and Southern African Universities Research Programme (ESAURP).

Mr Shongwe said if government's refusal to grant him the passport continues he is going to use other means of getting a passport of another country which he did not disclose. He said today only the secretary general of Swanafro, Mrs Glenrose Dlamini will attend the conference.

He said the People's United Democratic Movement (Pudemo) will be represented by its secretary general, Mr Dominic Mngomezulu and Mr Kison Shongwe, the president.

Mr Shongwe said government would regret refusing to grant him the passport because this might have adverse repercussions.

Swanafro Leader Reacts

MB2506072593 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] The electoral process in Swaziland is becoming a bit of a shambles. No political parties are recognized in Swaziland, the registration of voters has been very slow, and the deadline has had to be extended. Unrecognized parties such as Pudemo [People's United Democratic Movement] and Swanafro, the Swaziland United Front, have been trying to campaign against the elections and for multiparty democracy. This seems to have landed the leader of Swanafro, Mbho Shongwe, in some trouble. He wanted to go to a conference on democracy in Tanzania. He tried to get a passport but didn't get very far. On the line to Swaziland, Audrey Brown asked Mbho Shongwe what went wrong.

[Begin recording] [Shongwe] I applied for the international passport and my application was refused because they said I am attending a political meeting and political parties are not yet allowed in Swaziland. So, if they were to be giving me this particular passport, it would be as if they are guaranteeing or sanctioning the existence of parties in the country.

[Brown] So, this is an act or an indication rather, that they are not yet ready to accept political parties in Swaziland. Is that what you are saying?

[Shongwe] (?That's right).

[Brown] And they being the Swazi Government?

[Shongwe] Yes, that's the Swaziland Government.

[Brown] What is the conference all about?

[Shongwe] The conference apparently is on political parties in the transition to multiparty democracy in the eastern and southern Africa. What you should also bear

in mind here, this conference where we are going to have been organized by east and southern African University Research Programs. This is an academic exercise.

[Brown] So, do you see this as a sign that the Swazi Government is not going to allow political parties in Swaziland?

[Shongwe] I would say they are not allowing it now. I won't say they will continue because things are changing. They are not allowing it now.

[Brown] So, you are not going to go to Tanzania. Are you unhappy about that?

[Shongwe] Let me tell you, I am completely unhappy but (?the) events will indicate. There is nothing that can just happen for nothing.

Electoral Officer Says Registration 'Picked Up'

MB2406081493 Mbabane THE TIMES OF
SWAZILAND in English 24 Jun 93 p 32

[Report by Vusie Ginindza]

[Text] The Chief Electoral Officer, Mr Robert Tfwala, said the rate of registration for elections has tremendously picked up.

He said over the past weekend people came in numbers far higher than during the week. He attributed the slow start of the exercise to insufficient time in which the chiefs had to announce the registration centres. Mr Tfwala said the other problem was that most people, especially those who are employed, can only be free during weekends.

"Though some industrial areas have their own centres, some people they employ still want to register in the home areas and so they will have to await the weekend," he said. Mr Tfwala said employers are also expected to support this exercise in whatever way they can afford.

"Releasing them from work may prove expensive for them, of course, that is why we preferred weekends as the appropriate time. But other companies have really showed good spirit of cooperation with the exercise. Some have even provided transport to transport people to and from the registration polls. We hope that other companies will cooperate to make this exercise a success."

Mr Tfwala declined, however, to reveal statistics of people who have already registered. He said such information will be released to each registration centre after the exercise has been completed.

"We cannot possibly afford to release figures at intervals. But we will prepare a list of names which will be supplied to all Tinkhundla [traditional community councils] centres so that those who register are known when voting starts," he said.

Zambia

Germany Writes Off Part of 6.834 Billion Kwacha Debt

MB2406200093 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Germany has written off part of the 6,834 million kwacha debt which Zambia owed the former Germany Democratic Republic, GDR. Briefing the vice president, Mr. Levy Mwanawasa, when he called on him, German Ambassador to Zambia Dr. Peter Schmidt said lifting of the state of emergency in Zambia has made it easier for Bonn to continue assisting the country. He said his country knew the needs of Zambia because it has been following with appreciation the MMD [Movement for Multiparty Democracy] government's operations since coming into power last year. Earlier Mr. Mwanawasa told the German envoy that MMD has introduced new democracy and has ensured that violations of human rights were reduced and eradicated.

Zimbabwe

Mugabe Begins Visit to Portugal, Seeks European Investment

MB2506060793 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1813 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Lisbon, Portugal, June 24 SAPA—Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe began a three-day state visit to Portugal on Thursday [24 June] as part of a European investment seeking tour, ZIANA news agency reported.

Having completed successful meetings with British banking and business executives in London, Mr. Mugabe flew into Lisbon on Thursday, escorted by two jets of the Portuguese Air Force.

He was met at Lisbon airport by Portuguese President Mario Alberto Soares and inspected a guard of honour, followed by a 21-gun salute.

The presidents then visited a 16th century monastery before engaging in private talks at the presidential palace in Belem.

During his visit, Mr. Mugabe will inform Portuguese industry and commerce of Zimbabwe's economic reforms, and appeal for Portuguese investment and the opening of new markets for Zimbabwean products.

Zimbabwe exported goods worth ZD[Zimbabwe dollar]50 million to Portugal in 1991, while two joint [words indistinct] ZD50 million were concluded this year.

Relations between the two countries improved in recent years through the mediatory role both played in stopping the civil war in Mozambique—a former Portuguese colony.

Niger

New Tuareg Movement Forms in North

LD2406202793 Paris Radio France International in French 1830 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] There is a new Tuareg movement in Niger. The Revolutionary Army of Liberation of Northern Niger [l'Armee Revolutionnaire de Liberation du Nord Niger] says it is not concerned by the truce signed in Paris by the government of Niger and the rebels of the Liberation Front of Air and Azawak. A communique of the new movement was issued from Adrarboust in northern Niger. Its leader is (Ataher Abdelmoumine).

Nigeria

Babangida To Meet Officers, Address Nation on Moves

AB2406172793 Kaduna Radio Nigeria in English 1700 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] President Babangida is to hold a meeting with senior military officers in Abuja tomorrow on the outcome of the two-day meeting of the National Defense and Security Council, which has ended in the capital city. A statement in Abuja said the president will brief all Armed Forces field commanders, principal staff officers, and senior police officers on the decisions taken by the National Defense and Security Council. This follows the repeal of Decrees 52 and 13 and nullification of some acts done under the repealed decree. Later in the day, the president will address the nation on the decision taken on the current political situation in the country.

Abiola Declares Self President

AB2506073093 Paris AFP in English 0226 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Lagos, June 25 (AFP)—Millionaire businessman Moshood Abiola proclaimed himself president-elect of Nigeria on Thursday [24 June], defying the military government which has cancelled the presidential poll he unofficially won. Abiola said the decision to cancel the election was "unfair, unjust, and consequently unacceptable."

He said he was "president elect" by the will of the people and urged the international community to back him against the military regime of President Ibrahim Babangida which had undertaken to relinquish power on August 27 to a civilian administration.

"The people of this country went to the polls on Saturday, June 12 1993, and without let or hindrance chose me as their president. The figures say so. The international observer group says so, the National Electoral Commission [NEC] knows and says so. In its affidavit to the Court of Appeal, the NEC said the results were ready and known. I won," Abiola told a press conference.

"I am the custodian of a sacred mandate, freely given, which I cannot surrender unless the people so demand," said Abiola, whom unofficial results gave as the winner by a wide margin over rival Bashir Othman Tofa.

"The people of Nigeria have spoken. They have loudly and firmly proclaimed their preference for democracy. They have chosen me as their president for the next four years," he said.

Abiola's announcement came as prodemocracy campaigners called for a wave of civil disobedience, and Western nations announced retaliatory measures for the election cancellation, including the suspension of government aid.

Britain and the United States led the way in introducing a series of retaliatory measures to express their dismay at Wednesday's decision to annul the elections as well as all legislation governing the transition to civilian rule.

In London, the Nigerian ambassador was summoned to the Foreign Office and informed that all new aid was being suspended and would be considered on a case-by-case basis. The Foreign Office said it was cutting off all military training and assistance to Nigeria, and was restricting the issue of British visas for Nigerian military personnel and diplomats.

British Prime Minister John Major condemned the cancellation Thursday saying in the House of Commons that he hoped "the Nigerian Government will take full account of the strength of international feeling and will reconsider what I believe is a gravely mistaken decision."

Three international observers present during the elections held in the western African country on June 12 welcomed the British sanctions saying they were "targeted against the military government not the people of Nigeria."

The United States followed by expelling the military attache to the Nigerian Embassy in Washington and asking American travellers not to visit the country.

Nigeria's National Defence Council met Thursday in Abuja, the federal capital and in an official statement General Babangida said he would address the nation Friday on the outcome of the meeting.

Some reports said he may announce new presidential elections on a wider political scale than those held in which only two political parties were represented: the progressive Social Democratic Party by Abiola and the National Republican Convention by Tofa.

On Thursday night, the military government said it had "uncovered a plot by Governments of the United States and Britain to incite peace-loving Nigerians and the Armed Forces against their government. Nigeria will take the necessary actions against any foreign country that interferes in its internal affairs," the statement said.

The Campaign for Democracy [CD], which groups 40 largely leftist organisations, warned there could be serious civil unrest in the country. In a statement Thursday, the CD said: "The United Nations Security Council must pressurise the military junta in Nigeria to hand over power to the president-elect Chief Abiola without any further delay. If the United Nations fails to act urgently in the case of Nigeria the situation may soon be worse than what is going on in Bosnia."

Government Statement Alleges U.S.-UK 'Plot'

AB2406204093 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 24 Jun 93

["Special statement" issued by Federal Government Spokesman Nduka Irabor on 24 June]

[Text] The Federal Government has noticed the dangerous trend which certain foreign countries have embarked upon in their response to the current crisis of the transition program. Specifically, the Federal Government has unearthed a plot by the Governments of the United States and Britain not only to mobilize their European allies against Nigeria, but also to incite peace-loving Nigerians against themselves and their government, or to incite sections of the armed forces against the government.

It cannot be said that these countries love Nigeria any more than Nigerians themselves and, indeed, this government. Accordingly, the Federal Military Government will take necessary action against any foreign country and interest group that seeks to interfere in Nigerian internal affairs. The Federal Government is aware of the element that gave rise to the chaos in Somalia, Sudan, Yugoslavia, and so on and wishes to reassure Nigerians that it will not allow foreign interference to exacerbate the present crisis. The government wishes to place on record its appreciation of the patience and understanding of the Nigerian citizenry in the current situation.

The Federal Government appeals for proper understanding and appreciation of the peculiar historical circumstances of the country and our determination to resolve the present crisis.

U.S. Calls Election Cancellation 'Outrageous'

AB2406180093 Kaduna Radio Nigeria in English 1700 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] The United States has formally declared its stand on the cancellation of the 12 June presidential election by the Federal military government. A State Department statement issued in Kaduna today described the decision as outrageous and that the American Government is already reviewing all aspects of its bilateral relations with Nigeria. The statement claimed that Washington has various options it intends to employ to help the Nigerian people successfully express their political will.

Earlier on today, THE NATIONAL CONCORD had published a report that Western nations were proposing sanctions against Nigeria if military rule was extended beyond 27 August this year. The reporter of the paper in New York, Matthew Elegba Idawa, said the proposed sanctions were being spearheaded by the United States and Britain. These include the withdrawal of their support for Nigeria's bid for a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council and the suspension of debt rescheduling by the London Club of creditor banks and Paris Club western creditor nations. The sanctions may also include the suspension of all food and medical aid to Nigeria by the United States and all European nations. The Western allies are equally planning to block further loans from the International Monetary Fund, IMF, and ensure total isolation of Nigeria from the rest of the international community. They also intend to withdraw recognition for the military government after 27 August. The report alerts Nigerians that they could face the hardest time in their living memory if the military extends its tenure beyond that date.

A political correspondent says these threats should not be regarded as a surprise considering various conspiracies by the Western world to destabilize the corporate existence of Nigeria. An instance of such conspiracy includes an inciting publication by the United States Information Service in Lagos challenging the National Electoral Commission, NEC, for stopping process of conducting presidential election on 12 June. The government explained that such skepticism expressed by the United States Information Agency was a breach of trust and an unnecessary interference in the political process of Nigeria. Our political analyst says the recent threat by the Western world did not come as a surprise because for a long time the United States has been interested in imposing a particular candidate to rule Nigeria.

Campaign for Democracy Calls For Civil Disobedience

AB2506071093 Paris AFP in English 0103 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Lagos, June 24 (AFP)—Protestors called Thursday for a campaign of civil disobedience "to end the military dictatorship in Nigeria" amid warnings of a serious outbreak of trouble.

The call came from the Campaign for Democracy (CD)—a federation which groups about 40 progressive organisations—which also asked the international community to impose economic and political sanctions on Lagos. The federation's call followed the military government's decision Wednesday to annul the presidential elections and all legislation governing the transition to civilian rule. It coincided with an announcement by Social Democrat (SDP) presidential candidate Moshood Abiola that he would break his silence to give a press conference Thursday at 1600 (1500 GMT).

Last Friday Abiola declared himself the winner of the elections over his rival National Republican Convention candidate Bashir Othman Tofa after the SDP released results they had collected.

In a statement, the CD said Thursday: "The United Nations Security Council must pressurise the military junta in Nigeria to hand over power to the president-elect, Chief Abiola, without any further delay. "If the United Nations fails to act urgently in the case of Nigeria, the situation may soon be worse than what is going on in Bosnia."

It also demanded the setting up of a United Popular Front (UPF) to mobilise all Nigerians cutting across party, religious, and ethnic lines in a bid to end the military dictatorship.

The group, led by Dr. Beko Ransome-Kuti, president of the Nigerian committee on human rights, also called on foreign governments and the United Nations to isolate the military regime from the international community.

According to unofficial results gathered from the 30 federal states and the capital Abuja, Abiola polled eight million votes against about six million for Tofa.

State Governors Urge Restraint

AB2506074793 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 0600 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Governor Michael Otedola has urged the people of Lagos State to remain calm and maintain the peace. In a broadcast yesterday, the governor said the political situation in the country calls for restraint by all. He stated that this has become necessary so that the courageous efforts made so far in nation-building would be sustained. Governor Otedola asked the people of the state not to provide any excuse for unpatriotic Nigerians to foment trouble.

Similarly, the Anambra State governor, Dr. Chukwumeke Ezeife, has warned that any person found to be a threat to peace and security in the state will be disciplined. Dr. Ezeife said in a broadcast to the people of the state yesterday that few self-serving and mischievous persons were planning, as well mobilizing, the people to demonstrate. The governor called on traditional rulers, religious and union leaders to assist in the maintenance of law and order in the state. He appealed to residents of the state to remain calm, as any destruction of lives and property would not be tolerated. The governor reminded them that the situation in the country calls for prayers and not violence.

The Edo State governor, Chief John Oyegun, has also appealed to the people to resist any attempt at provocation and destruction of private and public property. Chief Oyegun made the appeal in a statement in Benin yesterday. The governor said that the government was aware of plans by some hostile and antisocial elements to capitalize on the current political situation to foment trouble and breach the peace and security in the state. He

emphasized that the plan was not in the overall interests of the people and government of the state. Chief Oyegun advised the people to go about their legitimate business in the most peaceful manner.

In Akwa Ibom state, Governor Akpan Isemin has directed local government chairmen and traditional rulers in the state to ensure that peace prevails in their domains, as directed by the president. At the meeting with the local government chairmen, traditional rulers, and top government officials in [word indistinct], Governor Isemin charged them to ensure that law-abiding citizens went about their duties without fear or intimidation.

The governor advised them not to place their political interests above that of the nation by doing anything that could jeopardize the continuous existence of the nation.

Papers Comment on Government Nullification of Election

AB2406145593 Lagos Voice of Nigeria in English 1030 GMT 24 Jun 93

[From the Press Review]

[Text] Several papers on their front pages highlight the nullification of the 12 June presidential election in Nigeria as well as the suspension of the National Electoral Commission and the repeal of the two decrees enacted to guide the last lap of the transition program in the country.

THE NEW NIGERIAN in particular quotes the Federal Government as stating that the decision was taken because of several litigations pending in the courts against the election and to save the country's judiciary from being ridiculed and politicized in all its ramifications. Other papers say the action will not affect the activities of the National Assembly and that President Ibrahim Babangida will address the nation on the political situation in the country this week.

According to the papers, the National Defense and Security Council is continuing its meeting today to deliberate on the other issues affecting the country. In a related story, the papers say that all state governors have been asked by the Federal Government to ensure that peace is maintained in their states in view of the political developments in Nigeria.

THE CONCORD reporting on the Federal Government's position to cancel the 12 June election, says Nigerians received the news with shock and that some people considered it a coup against democracy because the military is interested in continuing its rule.

THE NEW NIGERIAN further reports that the governor of Adamawa State of Nigeria has called for diarchy as the only solution to Nigeria's political situation. In the light

of all this, the papers say the Federal Government will keep faith with 27 August to complete the transition process.

THE GUARDIAN also reports the reaction of the 30 state governors who met yesterday over the stalemate in the election. The paper says most issues discussed by the governors were not known but their position in the country's military administration engaged their attention as well as the security situation in the states.

THE GUARDIAN further reports that the National Republican Convention, NRC, has endorsed the action of the Federal Government by cancelling the election and wants the government to conduct fresh election devoid of electoral malpractices. In the Social Democratic Party's camp, the paper says the party will not comment on the issue because of what it describes as obvious inadequacies in the matter. THE GUARDIAN also speculates that the National Defense and Security Council may consider registering new parties to coexist with the two political parties. It says the Defense Council may also want to have a prime minister on the new political scene.

Human Rights Activist on 'Martial Rulership'

AB2406154593 London BBC World Service in English
0600 GMT 24 Jun 93

[From the "Network Africa" program hosted by Hilton Fyle]

[Excerpts] Now, I should think even the animals in the jungle have heard the big news from Nigeria by now. The government of President Ibrahim Babangida has canceled the presidential election and suspended the transition program to civilian rule. An official statement says this is because of all the confusion caused by court cases. The government says it wants to save the Nigerian judiciary from being ridiculed and politicized. Well, what do the Nigerian people themselves say about it? [passage omitted]

We are going to hear now from one other part of Nigeria. Having heard from the north, the south this time—Lagos. The view is coming from Chief Gani Fawehinmi, a famous lawyer, a human rights activist, and a worrier of the Babangida government for years. He has been arrested or detained several times. I asked Chief Gani Fawehinmi for his reaction to the latest developments:

[Begin recording] [Fawehinmi] It is that of disgust and dismay. I am shocked that this government could resort to this type of diabolical action which is a defiance of the electoral verdict of the people. What the president of Nigeria, Babangida, has done is to stage a coup. He has staged a coup against the electoral verdict of the Nigerian people. He has now graduated....

[Fyle, interrupting] Chief, you are a human rights activist and you have been involved in a long-running campaign against what you see as the misdeeds of the

Babangida government, but did you ever see a kind of climax like this ever coming to pass?

[Fawehinmi] Well, I had always suspected all along that he would not relinquish power and had warned the country for the period of seven years about the diabolical designs and machinations of this barbaric president of my country. Where we are now is that this government has graduated from military dictatorship to martial rulership and this is a very sad day in the history of Nigeria.

[Fyle] How about the behavior of NEC [National Electoral Commission], especially regarding the court action which ordered it not to release the official result of the presidential election? Do you think NEC acted properly?

[Fawehinmi] NEC should not have obeyed that court order at all—not to release the results of the election—because under Decree 13 of 1993, the courts have no jurisdiction in the conduct of elections. The authority of the courts has been ousted by the decree. All that NEC needed to do at the center at Abuja was just to compile, collate, and then add the figures from all the 30 states and Abuja. NEC facilitated waiting for this type of situation to occur because I think NEC collaborated with the president in not declaring the results. In fact, these results were available to NEC on Sunday [20 June] and these results should have been declared on Monday [21 June] before a court order followed on Tuesday [22 June]. So it was a planned suspension of the total results of the elections from all the states of the Federation and Abuja.

[Fyle] So, what course of action is offered to people like you? You have been campaigning a lot and a lot of those who were expecting the results to be released have been disappointed. What can people do about this sort of thing now?

[Fawehinmi] What people can do is very clear. This is not a matter for law any longer. It is not a legal matter now, it is a political matter and there is need for political action to unchain the people of this country from military and martial slavery into which they have been plunged by this diabolical government of General Ibrahim Babangida who has curtailed the political aspiration of the Nigerian people, who has ensured that the rights of the people are thwarted, I mean who has the [word indistinct] today. We have spent close to 18.5 billion naira transiting to nowhere. What we have to do now is to use political action to regain our freedom, and I can assure you, BBC, we shall regain our freedom this year notwithstanding the diabolical move of a man who is highly obsessed with power.

[Fyle] What kind of action are you talking about?

[Fawehinmi] Well, the situation in the state now is very tense. The political situation is very, very serious right now in this country. The people are not prepared to take

this nonsense any longer and I think very soon, very very soon indeed, Nigerians are likely to take to the streets. [end recording]

Togo

Presidential Election Slated for 18 Jul, 1 Aug

AB2406133093 Lome Radio Lome in French 1230
GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] A government communique has just reached the radio news service. Here are the contents:

The transition, which should not have lasted more than one year, has been extended to almost two years now with no decisive presidential and legislative elections being held. For the second time this year, the presidential election was postponed from 20 June to 4 July with the purpose of reaching an agreement between the presidential group and the Collective of Democratic Opposition [COD II] and solving the sociopolitical crisis prevailing in Togo through dialogue.

The latest Ouagadougou negotiations have clearly shown COD II's persistent intransigence and its rejection of any political compromise. By consistently clinging to a revolutionary strategy consisting in a deliberate attempt to deprive the legitimate authorities of their prerogatives, COD II is leaving no other alternative to the government but to protect, above all, the supreme interest of the nation, the defense of territorial integrity, the sovereignty and well-being of the Togolese people. Only the verdict handed down by the sovereign Togolese people through free, fair and open elections will enable our country to overcome the crisis and definitively become a law-abiding state as stipulated in the new Constitution unanimously adopted by the Togolese people on 27 September 1992.

Consequently, the government hereby decides to invite Togolese to the polls to vote in the presidential elections on Sunday, 18 July for the first round, and Sunday, 1 August for the second round.

COD-II Rejects Election Date

AB2406223193 Paris AFP in French 1950 GMT
24 Jun 93

[Text] Abidjan, 24 Jun (AFP)—The Togolese Collective of Democratic Opposition-II (COD-II) this evening rejected the 18 July date fixed a few hours earlier by the government for the first round of the presidential election. Instead, it proposed 15 September. In a communique forwarded to AFP in Abidjan, the opposition, however, indicates that it is now prepared to sign the all-Togolese draft accord prepared on 22 June in Ouagadougou by Burkinabe President Blaise Compaore. The Burkinabe leader, on 22 June, "suspended" the talks between the government and the opposition, stating that the latter had rejected the draft agreement.

In a communique, COD-II, whose leaders are in exile and which had until now called for a boycott of the elections, notes with satisfaction "that the president of Togo had accepted the compromise draft as amended under (his) care." It, however, considers that "18 July is legally impossible," stressing that "the electoral code stipulates that candidacy papers for the presidential election shall be filed within at least 30 days before the election."

Furthermore, the opposition adds, "the date fixed must take into account the time required for carrying out the urgent measures agreed under the terms of the accord (enforcement of security measures and other arrangements.)" Consequently, "COD-II believes that the first round of the presidential election cannot be held before 15 September." However, COD-II points out that "outside the signing and implementation of the (Ouagadougou) accord, it does not intend in any way to associate itself with sham elections organized, singlehandedly, by the presidential group.

Cabinet Discusses Ouagadougou Talks, Elections, Economy

AB2406160093 Lome Radio Lome in French 0600
GMT 24 Jun 93

[Report on 19th Cabinet meeting issued in Lome on 23 June—read by Communication and Culture Minister Benjamin Komlan Agbeka]

[Text] The 19th Cabinet meeting was held at the presidency of the Republic on 23 June. The meeting, which was chaired by President Gnassingbe Eyadema in the presence of Prime Minister Joseph Kocou Koffigoh, first listened to the report of the government delegation that took part in the Ouagadougou II Talks between the official delegation and that of the Coordinating Committee of the Democratic Opposition-II [COD-II].

According to this report, contrary to the official delegation's reconciliatory stand adopted right from the start and aimed at finding a definite solution to the differences opposing the two sides since the beginning of the crisis, the COD-II delegation throughout the negotiations notoriously displayed intransigence coupled with dilatory tactics which were solely intended to drag the discussions. It is obvious that it did not envisage any hope for a solution to the crisis.

This intransigence was evidenced by COD-II's rejection of the Burkinabe president's compromise solution which the official delegation accepted. During the talks, although the COD-II delegation eventually acknowledged that the government had made laudable efforts in the area of security, it adopted a stand on other issues that was likely to isolate the government and transfer all its powers to the National Electoral Commission [CEN] whose representation, according to COD-II, must be equally shared between COD-II and the presidential camp. It therefore clearly appears that COD-II was excluding other political groups. Furthermore, by

seeking to make CEN a sovereign body in charge of organizing the elections in the place of government, COD-II was stripping CEN of its actual role of monitoring the regularity of the election as assigned by the Electoral Code.

At the end of this report, the president of the Republic and the prime minister commended the official delegation for the work done in Ouagadougou, saying that the national and international community should now be aware of the goodwill and open-mindedness that the Togolese authorities have constantly displayed during this crisis.

Other items on the agenda were related to electoral matters, economic problems, and security. In regard to the economy, it was noted that activities were steadily improving at all levels. To this end, special security measures will be taken in the vital sectors of the national economy. Concerning salaries, those of April have been fully paid. May's salaries are being paid, and as of the end of June, salaries will again be paid through bank transfers. The 1993 phase of the public investment program was also adopted. The income and expenditure balance of the capital budget stood at 15.499 billion CFA francs.

To conclude, two draft decrees of appointments within the Ministry of Finance and Economy were adopted.

Gendarmes Leave for Western Sahara on UN Mission

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[Text] Five Togolese gendarmes left Lome yesterday for Western Sahara, the former Spanish colony, to join the rest of the observers from 47 countries selected by the UN Security Council to monitor the upcoming referendum on self-determination scheduled to take place before the end of this year. The referendum has been postponed several times due to stands adopted by the parties concerned, namely Morocco and the Polisario Front.

The departure of the Togolese gendarmes follows the agreement by both sides in the conflict to the peace plan proposed by Xavier Perez de Cuellar, the former UN secretary general. Another group including Togolese policemen will leave for Western Sahara at a later date.

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